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CLARENDON'S
HISTORY OF THE REBELLION AND
CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND.

MACRAY.

London
HENRY FROWDE



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE
AMEN CORNER, E.C.

THE
HISTORY OF THE REBELLION

AND
CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND

BEGUN IN THE YEAR 1641,

BY
EDWARD, EARL OF CLARENDON.

RE-EDITED FROM
A FRESH COLLATION OF THE ORIGINAL MS. IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY,
WITH MARGINAL DATES AND OCCASIONAL NOTES,

BY
W. DUNN MACRAY, M.A., F.S.A.

In Six Volumes.

VOL. VI.

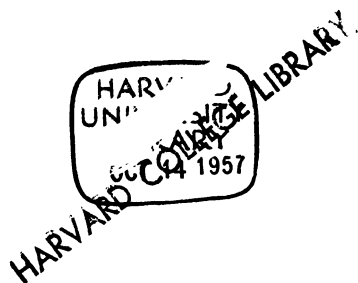
(Books XV and XVI, and Index.)

Oxford
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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A TRUE HISTORICAL NARRATION
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS IN
ENGLAND.

BOOK XV.

1. ¹THE King remained at Cullen above two years, contend-1655
ing with the rigour of his fortune with great temper and magnanimity, whilst all the princes of Europe seemed to contend amongst themselves who should most eminently forget and neglect him, and whilst Cromwell exercised all imaginable tyranny over those nations who had not been sensible enough of the blessings they enjoyed under his majesty's [father's] peaceable and mild government; so that he might have enjoyed some of that comfort and pleasure which Velleius Paterculus says that Marius and Carthage had when his banishment reduced him to end his life in the ruins of that city, as he did; *cum Marius aspiciens* ² *Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alteri possent esse solatio* ³; whilst he refreshed himself with the memory of his greatness when he overthrew that great and famous city, and she, again, delighted to behold her destroyer expelled from his country, which he had served so eminently, and forced, forsaken of all men, to end his life and to be buried in her ashes. If the King's nature could have been delighted with such reflections, he might have had

¹ [*Life*, p. 509.]

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² [*'aspiciente,' MS.*]

B

³ [*lib. ii. c. 19.*]

1655 argument abundant, in seeing Scotland, which first threw off wantonly its own peace and plenty, and infected the other two kingdoms with its rebellion, now reduced and governed by a rod of iron, vanquished and subdued by those to whom they had taught the science of rebellion, and with whom they had joined, by specious pretences and vows and horrible perjuries, to subdue and destroy their own natural prince, and dissolve the government they had been subject to since they were a people; in seeing the pride and insolence of that nation, which had used to practise such ill manners towards their kings, suppressed, contemned, and subdued by those who had been instructed by them how to use their arms, and exposed to slavery under the discipline and castigation of men who were not born gentlemen, but bred up in the trades and professions of the common people. These men governed in their houses, and prescribed new laws to them to live by, which they had never been accustomed to, and which they were compelled to obey, upon penalty of their lives and estates; whilst their adored idol, Presbytery, (which had pulled off the crown from the head of the King,) was trod under foot, laughed at and contemned; and their preachers, who threatened their princes with their rude thunder of excommunication, disputed with, scoffed at, and controlled by, artificers, and corrected by the strokes and blows of a corporal; and all this subjection supported at their own charge, and their fierce governors paid by them out of their own estates.

2. He beheld Ireland, that began its rebellion with inhuman massacres and butcheries of their peaceable and innocent neighbours, after the other of Scotland was suppressed, or so compounded that the blessing of peace had again covered the three nations, if this sottish people had not, without any provocation, but of their own folly and barbarity, with that bloody prologue engaged again the three kingdoms in a raging and devouring war; so that though Scotland blew the first trumpet, it was Ireland that drew the first blood; and if they had not at that time rebelled, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miseries which afterwards befell the King and his dominions

had been prevented. These unhappy people, when they saw 1655 that they could not make war, but were beaten as often as encountered, would not yet make peace; or if they did, they no sooner made it than broke it, with all the circumstances of treachery and perjury that can make any foul action the most odious. And after they had again, for their last preservation, returned to their obedience to the King, and put themselves again under his protection, they quickly repented of their loyalty, offered themselves to the sovereignty of a foreign prince; and when they had seen their natural King murdered by his rebels for want of that assistance, which they might have given him, and chose rather to depend on the clemency of the usurper, and so drove from them the governor and government of their King: [I say,] his majesty saw now these miserable people grovelling at the feet of their proud conquerors, reduced to the highest desolation, and even to the point of extirpation. The blood they had wantonly and savagely spilt in the beginning of the rebellion, they now saw plentifully revenged in streams of their own blood from one end of the kingdom to the other; whilst those persons who first contrived the rebellion, and could never be reached by the King, and they who caused every peace to be broken which had been made with his majesty, with all the possible affronts to his royal dignity and authority, after they had endeavoured by all the treacherous offices against the royal power to reconcile themselves to their new masters, were every day taken and infamously put to death by their authority who usurped the government; who sold, as hath been said before¹, above one hundred thousand of them to the service of foreign princes, under whom they perished for want of bread, and without regard; so that there is not an account in history of any nation, the Jews only excepted, that hath ever been reduced to a more complete misery and contempt than the Irish were in the view of his majesty at this time. And it was the more extraordinary, in that it was without the pity of any, all the world looking upon them as deserving the fate they underwent.

¹ [book xii. § 148.]

1655 3. England, that seemed to glory in the conquest of those two kingdoms, and to reign peaceably over them, yielded a prospect, too, full of variety. Though the King's heart was even broken with the daily information he received of the ruin and destruction that his faithful and loyal party underwent and the butchery that was frequently acted upon them, and the extreme tyranny the usurper exercised over the whole nation was grievous to him, yet he could not be equally afflicted to see those who had been the first authors of the public calamity to be now so much sharers in it, that they were no more masters of their estates than they were whom they had first caused to be spoiled, and that themselves were brought and exposed upon those scaffolds which they had caused to be erected for others; that no part of the new government was in any of their hands which had pulled down the old; and that after monarchy had been made so odious to the people, the whole wealth of the nation was become at the disposal of one man; and that those lords without whose monstrous assistance the sceptre could never have been wrested out of the hands of the King were now numbered and marshalled with the dregs of the people: in a word, that Cromwell was not so jealous of any as of those who had raised him, and contrived and proposed nothing more to himself than to suppress those, or to drive them out of the kingdom, who had been the principal means to suppress the royal authority, and to drive the royal family and all that adhered to it into banishment.

4. This prospect the King had of the three kingdoms which had revolted from him during his residence at Cullen; and with those manifestations of God's vengeance upon those ingrateful nations, of which he had a most tender and compassionate feeling, he was not without some glimmering light to discern an approach of that recompense which the divine justice usually assigns to those who patiently attend his vindication.

5. Cromwell, whose great heart was solicitous to extend the terror of his name into foreign countries, by which method he thought to render the rough and stubborn humours of his own people, which vexed him exceedingly, more obsequious to him,

had in the beginning of the year 1655¹, after his dissolution of 1655 his stubborn Parliament, sent two very great fleets to sea.

6. The one under Penn ; consisting of about thirty ships of war, with which there were likewise embarked a land army, consisting of four or five thousand foot, and two troops of horse, under the command of general Venables, a gentleman of a good family in Cheshire, who had served long in the army in the condition of a colonel, and was then called out of Ireland to serve in this expedition. Both these superior officers were well affected to the King's service, and were not fond of the enterprise they were to conduct, the nature of which they yet knew nothing of. They did by several ways, without any communication with each other, (which they had not confidence to engage in,) send to the King that if he were ready with any force from abroad, or secure of possessing any port within, they would, that is, either of them would, engage, with the power that was under their charge, to declare for his majesty. If this had been upon a joint and mutual confidence in each other, and that both fleet and land forces, though the body of horse was small, would at the same time erect the King's standard, it might have been the foundation of some hopeful expectation. But neither of them daring to trust the other, the King could not presume upon any port, without which neither had promised to engage ; nor make, out of the distinct overtures (however he might hope to unite them), such a probable attempt, after the miscarriage of so many, as to embark his friends in. And so he wished them to prosecute the voyage to which they were designed, from which he was not without hope of some benefit to himself, (for it was evident Cromwell meant to make some enemy, which probably might give his majesty some friend,) and to reserve their affections for his majesty till a more proper season to discover them. The other fleet was not inferior in naval strength and power, but was without a land army ; and that was committed to the command of Blake ; in whom they had all confidence.

7. Neither fleet knew what the other or what itself was to

¹ [in the end of 1654.]

1655 do, till they came to such a point, where they were to open their commissions; and Cromwell had communicated his purpose for either to so very few, that for many months after they were both at sea nobody knew to what they were designed. Though the intercourse between Cromwell and the cardinal was maintained with many civilities and some confidence, yet there was nothing of a treaty signed; he resolving, (as he professed,) to give his friendship to that Crown that should best deserve it: and without doubt both Crowns were amused with his preparation, and solicitous to know where the storm would fall.

8. Spain, that had hitherto kept don Alonso de Cardinas there [in England,] after he had so many years resided there as ambassador to the late King, believing they were less faulty in that than if they should send another originally to Cromwell, now thought it necessary to omit no occasion to endear themselves to him; and therefore they sent the marquis of Leda with
 1655 May. a splendid train, as extraordinary ambassador, to congratulate all his successes, and to offer him the entire friendship of the Catholic King. The marquis, who was a wise and a jealous man, found by his reception, and Cromwell's reservation in all his audiences and the approaches he could make, that there was no room left for his master; and so, after a month spent there, he returned to look to his government in Flanders, with an expectation that as soon as any news came of the fleets, they should hear of some acts of hostility upon the subjects of Spain; and did all he could to awaken all the ministers of that King to the same apprehension and expectation.

1654. 9. The two fleets set out from the coast of England about the same time¹; that under Blake made its course directly to the Mediterranean, being bound in the first place to suppress the insolence of those of Argiers and Tunis, who had infested the English merchants, and were grown powerful in those seas. When he should have performed that service, he was to open another commission which would inform him what course he was to steer. The other fleet under Penn was bound directly to the Barbados, where they were to open their commissions,

¹ [Blake's fleet sailed in October, 1654; Penn's left Portsmouth, Dec. 24.]

and to deliver letters to that governor. There they found that 1654 they were to take in new men for the land army, and then to prosecute their course directly to the island of Hispaniola. The governor had orders to supply new men for the expedition; and there were ships ready for their transportation, there being a marvellous alacrity in the planters of those Leeward islands, which were oppressed with inhabitants, to seek their fortune farther from home. So that after a shorter stay at the Barbados than they had reason to expect had they not found two frigates, which Cromwell had sent before to prepare all things ready, and to put several shallows together which were brought ready in quarters, making prize of about forty Dutch ships, belonging to their new allies of Holland, for trading thither, (contrary to the Act of Navigation,) about the end of March they set sail, 1655 March 31. with an addition of four or five thousand foot for the land army, towards St. Christopher's; where after as short stay they April 6. received about fifteen hundred men more: so that Venables had now under his command a body of above nine thousand men, with one troop of horse more, which the planters of the Barbados joined to him; and, having a prosperous wind, they came about the middle of April within view of Santo Domingo, April 11. which is the chief city and port of the island of Hispaniola.

10. Their orders from Cromwell were very particular and very positive, that they should land at such a place, which was plainly enough described to them. But whether they did not clearly understand it, or thought it not so convenient when they were near enough to make a judgment of it, they did call a council of war; and it was there resolved that general Venables should land in another place, which they conceived to be much nearer the town than in truth it was, and from thence march directly to it, there being another brigade of foot to be landed at a less distance from the town, in a bay, that should join with them. And join they did; but [by] the march which Venables April 18. had made, and in which he spent two days and a half, in the woods and uneasy passages, and in the terrible heat of that Apr. 16-18. country's sun, in which they found no water to drink, they were so dispirited before they joined with their companions, that it

- 1655 was an ill presage of the misadventure that followed. The loss of that time in their advance had another very ill effect. For the inhabitants of the town, that, at the first appearance of such a fleet, the like whereof in any degree they had never seen before, had been seized upon by such a consternation that they despaired of making any resistance, when they saw their enemies proceed so slowly, and engaged in such a march as must tire and infinitely annoy them, recovered¹ their spirits, and prepared for their defence. So that when Venables, upon the conjunction with his other forces, and after having found some fresh water
- April 18. to refresh his men, advanced towards the town, his forlorn hope found themselves charged by a party of horse, being² armed with long lances and other arms which they had not been accustomed to ; so, tired and dismayed with their march and heat, they bore the charge very ill, and were easily routed, and routed those which were behind them, and were in that disorder pursued till they came to their main body, upon sight whereof the Spaniards retired, without any loss, and having left the captain of the forlorn hope and above fifty of his company dead upon the place. The English retired back in great discomfort to the bay and the fresh water river they had found there ; where they stayed so long that the general thought his men not only enough refreshed but enough confirmed in their resolutions to redeem the shame of their last disorder, having³ got guides, who undertook to conduct them a nearer way to the city, and that they should not go near a fort which the Spaniards had in a wood, from whence they had been infested. The common opinion, that the negroes, natives of those parts, are such enemies to the Spaniards that they are willing to betray them and do any mischief to them, might possibly incline the English to give credit to those guides. But they did conduct them
- April 25. directly to the fort ; near which an ambuscade in the woods discharged a volley again upon the forlorn hope, and fell then in upon them with such fury that disordered the whole army ; which though it recovered the courage once more to make an

¹ ['they recovered,' MS.]² ['which being,' MS.]³ ['and having,' MS.]

attempt upon that fort, it was again seized upon by a panic fear, 1655 which made them directly fly back to their bay, with the loss of April 27. above six hundred men, whereof their major general was one.

11. And this fright they never recovered, but within few days, after having undergone many distresses by the intolerable heat of the climate, and the negroes killing their men every day as they went into the woods to find meat, they were, within five or six days after the beginning of May, compelled to reembark May 3. themselves on board the fleet, with a thousand men less than had been landed, who had by several ways lost their lives there; for which they revenged themselves upon a neighbour island, called Jamaica, where they made another descent, took their May 10. city, and drove all the inhabitants into the woods. And here they left a good body of foot, consisting of three or four thousand men, under the command of a colonel, to fortify and plant in this island, a place fruitful in itself, and abounding in many good provisions, and a perpetual sharp thorn in the sides of the Spaniard, who received infinite damage from thence; they who were so easily frightened and beaten when they were in a great body upon the other island, making after incursions with small numbers into it from Jamaica, and sacking their towns, and returning with very rich booty. When Venables had put this island into as good order as he could, he returned with Penn into England¹.

12. The other fleet, under the command of Blake, had better success, without any misadventures. And after he had reduced those of Argiers, (where he anchored in their very mole,) to sub- March 10. mit to such conditions for the time past and the time to come as he thought reasonable, he sailed to Tunis, which he found better fortified and more resolved; for the King from thence returned a very rude answer, contemning his strength, and undervaluing his menaces, and refusing to return either ship or prisoner that had been taken. Whereupon Blake put his fleet April 4. in order, and thundered with his great guns upon the town;

¹ [Penn set sail from Jamaica June 25, and arrived at Spithead, Aug. 31 (Thurloe's *S. P.*, iii. 752). He landed Sept. 3 at Portsmouth, and Venables on Sept. 9 (Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 376).]

1655 whilst he manned out several long boats, manned with stout mariners, who, at the same time, entered with very notable resolution into their harbour, and set fire to all the ships which were there, being nine men of war, which were burned to ashes; and this with the loss only of five and twenty of the English, and about eight and forty hurt; all the boats, with the rest of the men, returned safe to the ships. This was indeed an action of the highest conduct and courage, and made the name of the English very terrible and formidable in those seas.

13. The success of both fleets came to Cromwell's notice about the same time, but did not affect him alike. He had never such distempers, (for he had a great command over his passions,) as upon the miscarriage at Hispaniola. And as soon
Sept. 20. as they came on shore he committed both Penn and Venables to the Tower, and could never be persuaded to trust either of them again, and could not in a long time speak temperately of that affair. However, he lost no time in cherishing his infant plantation in Jamaica; which many thought to be at too great a distance, and wished it might be recalled; but he would not hear of it, and sent presently a good squadron of ships, and a recruit of 1500 men to carry on that work, and resolved nothing more than to make a continual war from that place upon the Spaniard.

14. And now the rupture with Spain could be no longer concealed. And therefore he sent orders to Blake, that he should watch the return of the plate-fleet, and do what mischief he could upon the coast of Spain; and gave direction to his ships in the Downs to infest those of Flanders, which they had not yet done. What had been hitherto treated privately
1656 between him and the cardinal was now exposed to the light;
April 25. and he sent Lock[h]art his ambassador into France, who was received with great solemnity, and was a man of great address in treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the
1657 cardinal. He made an alliance with France; and Cromwell
March 23¹.

¹ [The text of this treaty was published for the first time in its complete form in the Appendix (No. XXIV) to Guizot's *Hist. d'O. Cromwell.*]

undertook to send over an army of six thousand¹ foot, to be **1655** commanded by their own superior officer, who was to receive orders only from marshal Turyn; and when Dunkirk and Mardike should be taken, they were to be put into Cromwell's hands. There were other more secret articles, which will be mentioned.

15. Flanders had notice of this their new enemy from England, before they heard anything from Spain that might better enable them to contend with them; and don Alonso remained still in London, without notice of what was done, till the affair of Jamaica was upon the Exchange, and fraternities entered into there for the better carrying on that plantation. Nor was he willing to believe it then, till Cromwell sent to him to leave the **1655** kingdom; which he did very unwillingly, when there was no **Oct. 23.** remedy, and was transported into Flanders, to increase the **Oct. 27.** jealousies and discontents which were already too great and uneasy there. The prince of Condé, whose troops and vigour [were²] the preservation and life of that country, was very ill satisfied with the formality and phlegm of the arch-duke, and with the unactivity and wariness of the conte of Fuensaldagña, who he thought omitted many opportunities.

16. The arch-duke was weary of the title of governor of the Low Countries and general of the army, when the power was in truth in Fuensaldagña, and nothing to be done without his approbation; and, having by frequent complaints to Madrid endeavoured in vain to vindicate his authority, had implored his dismissal. And Fuensaldagña himself was as ill satisfied as the other two, and, knowing well the defects of the Court as well as the poverty of Madrid, thought the defence of Flanders consisted most in preserving the army by being on the defensive part; and therefore, and to gratify the coldness of his own constitution, he did by no means approve the frequent enterprises and restless spirit of the prince of Condé, which spent their men: and he thought the great charge in supporting the state and dignity of the arch-duke was not recompensed by any benefit from his service, besides the irreconcilableness³ with the

¹ [12,000.]

² ['was,' MS.]

³ ['irreconcilableness,' MS.]

1656 arch-duke by his having compelled him, by the authority of the King, to dismiss the count of Swassenburgh, whom he loved of all the world; so that he was likewise weary of his post, and desired his deliverance from Madrid.

17. And the Council there thought it necessary to gratify them both, and to remove both the arch-duke and the conde; May. honourably to dismiss the former, to return to his own residence in Germany, and to bring don Juan de Austria, the natural son of the King, who had passed through many employments with reputation, and was at that time general in Italy, to undertake the government of Flanders, with such restrictions as the King Feb.¹ thought fit; and at the same time that the conde of Fuensaldagña should immediately enter upon the government of Milan, which had been exercised for the last six years by the marquis Caracena, who was now to govern the army in Flanders under don Juan; and that the marquis, who had the most disadvantage by this promotion, might be the better pleased, they gave him such an addition of authority as could not but breed ill blood in don Juan; as it fell out afterwards. And this counsel was taken, and to be executed in this conjuncture, when France and Cromwell were ready to invade Flanders with two powerful armies, when it was, upon the matter, under no command.

18. The King was yet at Cullen; and no sooner heard of the war that Cromwell had begun upon Spain but he concluded that the Spaniard would not be unwilling to enter into some correspondence with him, at least that his fears were over of offending 1655 Cromwell. And therefore he sent privately to the arch-duke Nov. 5th and to Fuensaldagña to offer them his conjunction. Don Alonso was likewise there, and the long experience he had in England, and the quality he still held, made his judgment in those affairs to be most esteemed by them. And he, whether upon the conscience of his former behaviour, by which he had disoblighed both the former and the present King, or whether, by having lived long in a place where the King's interest was contemned,

¹ [*Calend. Clar. S. P.*, iii. 96. He quitted Flanders for Milan in June. Thurloe's *S. P.*, v. 117.]

² [*Calend. Clar. S. P.*, iii. 63.]

he did in truth believe that he could bring little advantage to ¹⁶⁵⁶ them, had no mind to make any conjunction with him. Yet they saw one benefit which they might receive, if his majesty would draw off the Irish from the service of France; which they had reason to believe would be in his power, because he had formerly drawn off some regiments from Spain, whilst he remained in France. So that they were all of opinion that they would confer with any body the King should authorize to treat with them. Which when the King knew, he resolved to go to ¹⁶⁵⁶ them himself, and left Cullen, attended only by two or three ^{March 8,} servants; and when he came near Bruxells, sent to advertise ^{N. S.} the arch-duke at what distance he was, and that he would see ^{March 11.} him *incognito*, in what place or manner he should think fit.

19. They either were or seemed to be much troubled that the King was come in person, and desired that he would by no means come to Bruxells, but that he would remain in a little vile dorp ¹ ^{March 14.} about a league from Bruxells, where he was vilely accommodated. Thither the conde of Fuensaldagna and don Alonso came to him, and the arch-duke met him privately at another place; and he quickly discovered that don Alonso had a private intrigue with some officers of the army, who were enemies to Cromwell, upon whose interest he more depended than upon the King's, and offered it as great merit to his majesty if he could be able to persuade them to make a conjunction with the King. And this correspondence between him [don Alonso] and those Levellers was managed by an Irish Jesuit ², who by speaking Spanish had got himself to be mutually trusted by them. The King pressed them that he might remove his family to Bruxells, or into some place in Flanders, that it might be notorious that he was in alliance with his Catholic majesty, and then they should quickly see he had another kind of interest in England than what those men pretended to, upon whom they ought not to depend; and they would quickly find, if his majesty resided in that country, his influence upon the Irish who were in France.

20. They would by no means consent that his majesty should remain in Bruxells, as little at Antwerp, or indeed in any place

¹ [Vilvord. *Calend. Clar. S. P.*, iii. 100.]

² [Peter Talbot.]

1356 as taken notice of by the State to be there, which, they said, the King of Spain's honour would not permit, without shewing those respects to him that he might live in that grandeur as became a great king, which the present state of their affairs would not permit them to defray the charge of. But they intimated that if his majesty would choose to remove his family to Bruges, and remain there with them, so far *incognito* as not [to] expect any public expensive reception, they were sure he would find all respect from the inhabitants of that city. The King desired that some treaty might be signed between them; which was committed to the wisdom of don Alonso, who prepared it in as perfunctory a manner as was possible; by which the King was permitted to reside in Bruges, and nothing on the King of Spain's part undertaken, but that whenever the King could cause a good port town in England to declare for him, his Catholic majesty would assist him with a body of six thousand foot¹, and with such a proportion of ammunition, and so many ships to transport that body thither; which was the proposition the Levellers had made; and don Alonso, by making it the contract with the King, thought this way to beget an intelligence between them and the royal party, of the power of which he had no esteem.

21. The King discerned that what they offered would be of no moment, nor could he make such confident propositions of advantage to Spain as might warrant him to insist upon large concessions. Besides, it was evident to him that the affairs in those provinces which remained under Spain were in so evil a posture, that if they should promise any great matters they would not be able to perform them. However, all that he desired was to have the reputation of a treaty between him and the King of Spain, under which he might draw his family from Cullen, and remain in Flanders, which was at a just distance from England, and expect other alterations. And so he readily accepted the treaty as it was drawn by don Alonso, and signed it, and declared that he would reside in the manner they proposed at Bruges. Whereupon, after seven or eight days' stay

¹ [4,000 foot and 4,000 horse. *Calend. Clar. S. P.*, iii. 110.]

in that inconvenient manner, the treaty was engrossed, and ¹⁶⁵⁶ signed by the King, the arch-duke, and don Alonso, in April, or ^{April 12,} the end of March, 165[6]¹; the expedition being advanced by the necessity of the departure of the arch-duke and the conde of Fuensaldagna, who began their journeys within two or three days after the signing the treaty²; don Juan and the marquis of Caracena being known to be on their way, and both, though not together, within few days' journey of Flanders.

22. The treaty, as it was signed, was sent by an express into Spain for the approbation and signature of his Catholic majesty. The King with his small train went to Bruges, and lodged in ^{April 20,} the house of a subject of his own, the lord Taragh, an Irishman, ^{N.S.} who had been born in that country, and inherited an estate by his mother. There the King stayed till a handsome accommodation was provided for him in that city, having sent to his brother the duke of Gloster, who remained yet at Cullen, to come to him, and that his family should all come from thence. So that by the time his majesty had returned again to Bruxells to congratulate don Juan's arrival, and spent three or four days there, he found himself as well settled with his family at Bruges as he had been at Cullen, where, when his family left it, there was not the least debt remained unsatisfied, which, in the low condition his majesty had been [in] and still was, gave reputation to his economy.

23. As upon the dissolution of the unruly Parliament Cromwell had sent out his two great fleets to propagate his fame abroad, presuming that by the conquest which the one would make in the West Indies he should have money enough to keep his army in obedience to him, and by the other's destroying or suppressing the Turks of Argiers and Tunis, which were indeed grown formidable to all merchants, he should raise his reputation in Christendom, and become very popular with all the merchants of England; so he did not in the mean time neglect

¹ ['1657,' MS.]

² [The archduke Leopold left Brussels on May 8, N.S., for Louvain, and met don Juan near Montaigne on the following day. *Calend. Clar. S. P.*, iii. 129; letter of Sir H. de Vic of May 12. Fuensaldagna left Antwerp on June 19.]

1653 to take all the ways he could devise to provide for his own security at home. Though he had brought the King's party so low that he had no apprehension of their power to raise an army against him, yet he discerned that by breaking their fortunes and estates he had not at all broken their spirits, and that by taking so many of their lives their numbers were not lessened, and that they would be still ready to throw themselves into any party that should declare against him; to which he knew there were enough inclined, who were no kinder to the other than himself.

24. But that which troubled him most was the distemper in his army, where he knew there were many troops more at the disposal of that party that would destroy him than at his own. It was once in his purpose to have drawn over a regiment of Swiss, upon pretence of sending them into Ireland, but in truth with intention to keep them a guard to his own person¹; and to that purpose he sent a person to treat with colonel Balthazar, a man well known in the Protestant cantons; but this came to be discovered, and he had not confidence to proceed in it. He resolved therefore upon an expedient which should provide for all inconveniences, as well amongst the people as in the army.

1655 Aug. 9². He constituted out of the persons who he thought were most devoted to his person a body of major generals; that is, he assigned to such a single person so many counties, to be under his command as their major general: so that all England was put under the absolute power of twelve men, neither of them having any power in the jurisdiction of another, but every man in those counties which were committed to his charge had all that authority which was before scattered among committeemen, justices of peace, and several other officers.

25. The major general committed what persons he thought fit to suspect; took care to levy all moneys which were appointed by the Protector and his council to be collected for the public;

¹ [See *Calend. Clar. S. P.*, iii. 58, under date of Sept. 1655, and *pref.* p. viii.]

² [Thurloe's *S. P.*, iii. 701; *Cal. Dom. S. P.*, 1655, p. 275. The instructions, in which the title of major-generals was inserted, were passed Sept. 21; *ibid.*, p. 34.]

sequestered all who did not pay their decimation, or such other ¹⁶⁵⁶ payments as they were made liable to; and no appeal against any of their acts but to the Protector himself. They had likewise a martial power, which was to list a body of horse and foot, who were to have such a salary constantly paid, and not to be called upon but upon emergent occasion, and then to attend so many days at their own charge; and if they stayed longer, they should be under the same pay with the army, but independent upon the officers thereof, and only to obey his major general. A horseman had eight pounds a year; for which he was to be ready with his horse if he were called upon; if he were not, he might intend his own affairs. And by this means he had a second army in view, powerful enough to control the first, if they at any time deserved to be suspected. But he discerned by degrees that these new magistrates grew too much in love with their own power; and, besides that they carried themselves like so many bassas with their bands of janizaries towards the people, and were extremely odious to them of all parties, they did really affect such an authority as might undermine his own greatness; yet for the present he thought not fit to control them, and seemed less to apprehend them.

26. When admiral Blake had subdued the Turks of Tunis and Argiers, and betaken himself to the coast of Spain, and by the attempt of Hispaniola and the possession of Jamaica the war was sufficiently declared against the Catholic King, Mountague, a young gentleman of a good family, who had been drawn into the party of Cromwell, and served under him as a colonel in his army with much courage, was sent with an addition of ships to join with Blake, and joined in commission of admiral and general Jan. 2. with him; Blake finding himself much indisposed in his health, and having desired that another might be sent to assist him, and to take care of the fleet if worse should befall him. Upon his arrival with the fleet, they lay long before Cadiz in expectation of the Indian fleet, and to keep in all ships from going out to give notice of their being there. After some months' attendance, they were at last compelled to remove their station, that they might get fresh water and some other provisions

1656 which they wanted, and so drew off to a convenient bay in Portugal, and left a squadron of ships to watch the Spanish fleet; which within a very short time after the remove of the fleet came upon the coast, and before they were discovered by the captain of the squadron, who was to the leeward, made their way so fast, that when he got to them, (though he was inferior Sept. 8, 9. to them in number,) they rather thought of saving their wealth by flight than of defending themselves; and so the admiral run on shore in the bay, and the vice-admiral, in which was the vice-king of Mexico with his wife and sons and daughters, was fired by themselves to prevent being taken; in which the poor gentleman himself, his wife, and his eldest daughter perished: his other daughters and his two sons, and near one hundred others, were saved by the English, who took the rear-admiral and two other ships very richly laden, which, together with the prisoners, were sent into England; the rest escaped into Gibraltar.

27. The ships which were sent for England arrived at Portsmouth; and though they might with less charge have continued their voyage by sea to London, Cromwell thought it would make more noise if all the bullion, which was of great value, was landed at Portsmouth; from whence it was brought by land Nov. 1. in many carts to London, and so carried through the city of London to the Tower, to be there coined, as it was within as short time as it could be despatched; and though it was in itself very considerable, they gave it out and reported it to be of much greater value than it was. But the loss to the Spaniard was very prodigious, though most of what was in the admiral was saved, and that only: and they saw the fleet still remaining before them, which was not like to miss the other fleet, which was shortly after expected, in spite of all advertisements which they were like to be able to send to it.

28. Cromwell now thought his reputation both abroad and at home so good that he might venture again upon calling of a Parliament, and by their countenance and concurrence suppress or compose those refractory spirits which crossed him in all places; and having first made such shrieves in all counties as he

thought would be like to contribute to his designs, by hindering 1656 such men to stand against whom he had a prejudice, at least by not returning them if they should be chosen, and by procuring such persons to be returned as would be most agreeable to him, of which there were choice in all counties, and having prepared all things to this purpose as well as he could, he sent out his writs to call a Parliament to meet at Westminster upon the seventeenth of September in the year 1656: when, upon the returns, he found that though in some places he had succeeded according to his wish, it was in others quite the contrary, and that very many members were returned who were men of the most notorious malignity against him. And therefore he resorted to his old security, to keep all manner of persons from entering into the House who did not first subscribe that they would act nothing prejudicial to the government as it was established under a Protector; which being tendered many members utterly refused, and returned into their countries, where they were not for the most part the worse welcome for insisting upon their privileges and freedom of Parliament.

29. The major part frankly submitted and subscribed, that they might have the better opportunity to do mischief. And so a Speaker was chosen¹; and at first they proceeded so Sept. 17. unanimously, that he [the Protector] began to hope that he had gained his point. With very little or no contradiction, they passed an Act of renunciation of any title that Charles Steward Sept. 26². (for so they had long called the King) or any of that family might pretend; and this all men were bound to subscribe. With as little opposition they passed another, whereby it was Oct. 9². made high treason to attempt any thing against the life of the Protector. And then they passed several Acts for raising money by way of contribution in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a greater proportion than had ever yet been raised. They granted tonnage and poundage to the Protector for his life, and 1657 April 29. passed several other acts for the raising of moneys; amongst them, one for obliging all persons to pay a full year's rent for June 20.

¹ [Sir Thomas Widdrington.]

² [The Protector's assent to these acts was given on Nov. 27.]

1657 all buildings which had been erected in and about London from before the beginning of the troubles; by all which ways vast sums of money were to be, and afterwards were, exacted and raised. And all these Acts they presented solemnly to his highness, to be confirmed by his royal authority; and he as
 June 26. graciously confirmed them all, and told them, that as it had been the custom of the chief governors to acknowledge the care and kindness of the Commons upon such occasions, so he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness.

30. But notwithstanding all this, he was far from being satisfied with the method of their proceeding; for there was nothing done to confirm his personal authority; and notwithstanding all that was done, they might, for ought appeared, remove him from being both Protector and general. There had been for some time jealousy between him and Lambert, who had been the principal adviser of the raising those major generals; and being one of them himself, and having the government of the five northern counties committed to him, he did desire to improve their authority, and to have it settled by authority of Parliament. But Cromwell, on the other hand, was well contented that they should be looked upon as a public grievance, and so taken away, rather upon the desire of Parliament than to appear to be out of his own inclination. But there yet appeared neither that design in Lambert, nor the other in Cromwell, nor [any¹] difference between them.

31. The Protector himself seemed to desire nothing more than to have the authority they had formerly given him, at least that he had exercised from the time he was Protector, confirmed and ratified by Act of Parliament. And if it had been so, it had been much greater than any king ever enjoyed. But he had used to speak much, that it was pity the nobility should be totally suppressed, and that the government would be better if it passed another consultation besides that of the House of Commons. In matter of religion, he would often speak that there was much of good in the order of bishops, if the dross were scoured off. He courted very much many of the nobility,

¹ ['no,' MS.]

and used all the devices to dispose them to come to him, and ¹⁶⁵⁷ they who did visit him were used with extraordinary respect by him; all which raised an opinion in many, that he did in truth himself affect to be king; which was the more confirmed when many of those who had nearest relation to him, and were most trusted by him, as soon as the Parliament had despatched those Acts which are mentioned before, and that complaints came from all parts against the major generals, inveighed sharply against the temper and composition of the government, as if it was not capable to settle the several distractions and satisfy the several interests of the nation; and by degrees proposed, in direct terms, that they might invest Cromwell with the title, rights, and dignity of the king; and then he [would know¹] what he was to do towards the satisfaction of all parties, and how to govern those who would not be satisfied.

32. This proposition found a marvellous concurrence; and very many who used not to agree in any thing else were of one mind in this, and would presently vote him king. And it was observed that nobody was forwarder in that acclamation than some men who had always had the reputation of great fidelity to the King, and to wish his restoration: and it cannot be denied that very many of the King's party were so deceived in their judgments, as really to believe that the making Cromwell king for the present was the best expedient for the restoration of his majesty, and that the army and the whole nation would then have been united rather to restore the true than to admit a false sovereign, whose hypocrisy and tyranny being now detected and known would be the more detested.

33. But the more sober persons of the King's party, who made less noise, trembled at this overture, and believed that it was the only way utterly to destroy the King, and to pull up all future hopes of the royal family by the roots. They saw all men even already tired in their hopes; and that which was left of spirit in them was from the horror they had of the confusion of the present government; that very many who had sustained the King's quarrel in the beginning were dead; that the present

¹ ['knew,' MS.]

1657 King by his long absence out of the kingdom was known to very few; so that there was too much reason to fear that much of that affection that appeared under the notion of allegiance to the King was more directed to the monarchy than to the person, and that if Cromwell were once made king, and so the government ran again in the old channel, though those who were in love with a republic would possibly fall from him, he would receive abundant reparation of strength by the access of those who preferred the monarchy, and which probably would reconcile most men of estates to an absolute acquiescence, if not to an entire submission; that the nobility, being¹ excluded to a man, and deprived of all the rights and privileges which were due to them by their birthright, and so enemies irreconcilable² to the government, would by this alteration find themselves in their right places, and be glad to adhere to the name of a king, how unlawful a one soever; and there was an Act of Parliament still in force, that was made in the eleventh year of king Harry the Seventh, which seemed to provide absolute indemnity to such submission. And there was without doubt at that time too much propension in too many of the nobility to ransom themselves at the charge of their lawful sovereign. And therefore they who made these prudent recollections used all the ways they could to prevent this design, and to divert any such vote in the House.

34. On the other side, Lambert, who was the second man of the army, and many other officers of account and interest, besides the country members, opposed this overture with great bitterness and indignation; and some of them said directly, that if, contrary to their oaths and engagements, and contrary to the end for obtaining whereof they had spent so much blood and treasure, they must at last return and submit to the old government, and live again under a king, they would choose much rather to obey the true and lawful heir to the Crown, who was descended from a long succession of kings who had managed the sceptre over the nation, than to submit to a person who at best was but their equal, and raised from the same degree of

¹ ['which being,' MS.]

² ['irreconcilable,' MS.]

which they all were by themselves, and by the trust they had 1657 reposed in him had raised himself above them. That which put an end to the present debate was, (and which was as wonderful as any thing,) that some of his own family, who had grown up under him, and had their whole dependence upon him, as Desborough, Fleetwood, Whaley, and others, as passionately contradicted the motion as any of the other officers, and confidently undertook to know that himself would never consent to it, and therefore that it was very strange that any men should importune the putting such a question before they knew that he would accept it, except they took this way to destroy him. And upon this, (for which the undertakers received no thanks) the first debate was put off till farther consideration.

Feb. 23.

35. The debate was resumed again the next day with the Feb. 24. same warmth, the same persons still of the same opinion they had been before; most of the officers of the army, as well [as] they who were the great dependents upon and creatures of Cromwell, as passionately opposed the making him king as Lambert and the rest did, who looked to be successive protectors after his decease; only it was observed that they who the day before had undertaken that he himself would never endure it, which had especially made the pause at that time, urged that argument no more, but inveighed still against it as a monstrous thing, and that which would infallibly ruin him. But most of those of his privy council, and others nearest his trust, were as violent and as positive for the declaring him king, and much the major part of the House concurred in the same opinion¹; March 25. and notwithstanding all was said to the contrary, they appointed a committee of six or seven² of the most eminent members of March 27. the House to wait upon him, and to inform him of the very earnest desire of the House that he would take upon him the title of king; and if they should find any aversion in him, that they should then enlarge in giving him those reasons which had been offered in the House, and which had swayed the House to that resolution, which they hoped would have the same influence upon his highness.

¹ [by 123 against 62.]² [fifty-nine, *Journals*, vii. 514.]

- 1657 36. He gave them¹ audience in the Painted Chamber², when
 March 31. they made the bare overture to him as the desire of his Parliament; at which he seemed surprised, and told them he wondered how any such thing came into their minds; that it was neither fit for them to offer, nor him to receive; that he was sure they could discover no such ambition in him, and that his conscience would not give him leave ever to consent to own that title³.
 Apr. 3. They who were well prepared to expect such an answer told him, that they hoped he would not so suddenly give a positive denial to what the Parliament had desired upon such long and mature deliberation; that they knew his modesty well, and that he more affected to deserve the highest titles than to wear them; that they were appointed to offer many reasons which had induced the House to make this request to him; which when he had vouchsafed to hear, they hoped the same impression would be made upon him that had been made by them in the House. He was too desirous to give the Parliament all the satisfaction he could with a good conscience to refuse to hear whatever they thought fit to say unto him, and so appointed
 Apr. 7, 8. them another day to attend him in the same place; which they accordingly did.
- Apr. 11, 13. 37. When they came to him again, they all successively entertained him with long harangues, setting out the nature of the English people, and the nature of the government to which they had been accustomed, and under which they had flourished from the time they had been a people: that though the extreme sufferings they had undergone by corrupt ministers, under negligent and tyrannical kings, had transported them to throw off the government itself, as well as to inflict justice upon the persons of the offenders, yet they found by experience that no other government would so well fit the nation as that to which it had been accustomed: that, notwithstanding the infinite pains his highness had taken, and which had been crowned even with

¹ [the whole House.] ² [the Banqueting House; *Journals*, VII. 516.]

³ [The speech of the Speaker, and Cromwell's reply, desiring time for deliberation, are printed in Rutt's *Diary of Thomas Burton*, 1828, i. 397-416.]

miraculous success by the immediate blessing of divine Providence upon all his actions and all his counsels, there remained still a restless and unquiet spirit in men that threatened the public peace and quiet; and that it was most apparent, by the daily combinations and conspiracies against the present government, how just and gentle and mild soever, that the heart of the nation was devoted to the old form with which it was acquainted; and that it was love of that, not the affection to the young man who pretended a title to it and was known to nobody, which disposed so many to wish for the return of it: that the name and title of a Protector was never known to this kingdom, but in the hands of a subject during the reign of an infant sovereign, and therefore that the laws gave little respect to him, but were always executed in the name of the king, how young soever, and how unfit soever to govern: that whatsoever concerned the rights of any family, or any personal pretence, was well and safely over; the nation was united and of one mind in the rejection of the old line; there was no danger of it; but nobody could say that they were of one mind in the rejection of the old form of government, to which they were still most addicted: and therefore they besought him, out of his love and tenderness to the commonwealth, and for the preservation of the nation, which had got so much renown and glory under his conduct, that he would take that name and title which had ever presided over it, and by which as he would establish a firm peace at home, so he would find his fame and honour more improved abroad, and that those very princes and kings, who out of admiration of his virtue and noble actions had contracted a reverence for his person and an impatient desire of his friendship, would look upon him with much more veneration when they saw him clothed with the same majesty, and as much their equal in title as in merit, and would with much more alacrity renew the old alliances with England when they were renewed in the old form and under the old title, which would make them durable; since no foreign prince could presume to take upon him to judge of the right of succession, which had been frequently changed in all kingdoms, not only upon the expiration

1657 of a line but upon deprivation and deposition, in such manner as was most for the good and benefit of the people; of which there was a fresh instance in their own eyes in the kingdom of Portugal, where the duke of Braganza, without any other title than the election of the people, assumed the crown and title of king from the King of Spain, who had enjoyed it quietly, and without interruption, during three descents; and he was acknowledged as sovereign of that kingdom by the late King, who received his ambassadors accordingly.

38. Cromwell heard these and the like arguments with great attention, and wanted not his approbation to have concurred with them; he thanked them for the pains they had taken, to which he would not take upon him to give a present answer; that he would consider of all they had said to him, and resort to God for counsel; and then he would send for them, and acquaint them with his resolution. And so they parted, all men standing at gaze and in terrible suspense, according to their several hopes and fears, till they knew what he would determine. All the dispute was now within his own chamber. And there is no question the man was in great agony, and in his own mind he did heartily desire to be king, and thought it the only way to be safe. And it is confidently believed that upon some addresses he had formerly made to some principal noblemen of the kingdom, and some friendly expostulations he had by himself or some friend with them, why they reserved themselves and would have no communication or acquaintance with him, the answer from them all severally (for such discourse could be held but with one at once) was, that if he would make himself king they should easily know what they had to do, but they knew nothing of the submission and obedience which they were to pay to a Protector; and that these returns first disposed him to that ambition.

39. He was not terrified with the opposition that Lambert gave him, whom he now looked upon as a declared and mortal enemy, and one whom he must destroy that he might not be destroyed by him; nor did he much consider those other officers of the army who in the House concurred with Lambert, whose

interest he did not believe to be great; and if it were, he 1657 thought he should quickly reduce them as soon as Lambert should be disgraced, and his power taken from him. But he trembled at the obstinacy of those who he knew loved him, his brother Desborough, and the rest, who depended wholly upon him and his greatness, and who did not wish his power and authority less absolute than it was. And that these men should with that virulence withstand this promotion grieved him to the heart. He conferred with them severally, and endeavoured by all the ways he could to convert them. But they were all inexorable; and told him resolutely that they could do him no good if they should adhere to him, and therefore they were resolved for their own interest to leave him, and do the utmost they could against him, from the time he assumed that title.

40. It was reported that an officer of name, in the *éclaircissement* upon the subject, told him resolutely and vehemently that if ever he took the title of king upon him he would kill him. Certain it is that Cromwell was informed, and gave credit to it, that there were a number of men who bound themselves by oath to kill him within so many hours after he should accept that title. They who were very near him said that in this perplexity he revolved his former dream or apparition, that had first informed and promised him the high fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation; and that he then observed, that it had only declared that he should be the greatest man in England, and should be 'near' to be king; which seemed to imply that he should be only *near*, and never actually attain the Crown. Upon the whole matter, after a wonderful distraction of mind, which was manifest in his countenance to all who then saw him, notwithstanding his science in dissimulation, his courage did fail him; and after he had spent some days very uneasily¹, he sent for the committee May 8.

¹ [Details of the frequent conferences between Cromwell and a large Committee of the House of Commons, from Apr. 13 to May 5, are in Burton's *Diary*, ii. 1-105. The speeches are given in *Monarchy Asserted*; 1660.]

1657 of Parliament to attend him; and as his looks were marvelously discomposed, and discovered a mind full of trouble and irresolution, so his words were broken and disjointed, without method, and full of pauses; with frequent mention of God and his gracious dispensations, he concluded that he could not, with a good conscience, accept of the government under the title of a king.

41. Many were then of opinion that his genius at that time forsook him, and yielded to the King's spirit, and that his reign was near its expiration; and that if his own courage had not failed, he would easily have mastered all opposition; that there were many officers of the army who would not have left him, and who were for kingly government in their own affections; and that the greatest factions in religion rather promised themselves protection from a single person than from a Parliament or a new numerous council; that the first motion for the
 Feb. 23. making him king was made by one of the most wealthy aldermen of the city of London, and who served then for the city in Parliament¹; which was an argument that that potent body stood well affected to that government, and would have joined with him in the defence of it. Others were as confident that he did very wisely to decline it, and that if he had accepted it he could not have lived many days after. The truth is, the danger was only in some present assassination, and desperate attempt upon his person, not from a revolt of the army from him, which no particular man had interest enough to corrupt. And he might have secured himself probably for some time from such an assault by not going abroad; and when such designs are long deferred, they are commonly discovered, as appeared afterwards in many conspiracies against his life.

42. His interest and power over the army was so great, that he had upon the sudden removed many of those officers who had the greatest names in the factions of religion, as Harrison, Rich, and others; who as soon as they were removed, and their regiments conferred on others, were² found to be of no signification, or to have influence upon any men. And it could have

¹ [Christopher Pack.]

² ['they were,' MS.]

been no hard matter for him, upon very few days' warning, to 1657 have so modelled and quartered his troops as to have secured him in any enterprise he would undertake. And it may be there were more men scandalized at his usurping more than the royal authority than would have been at his assumption of the royal title too. And therefore they who at that time exercised their thoughts with most sagacity, looked upon that refusal of his as an immediate act of Almighty God towards the King's restoration; and many of the soberest men of the nation confessed, after the King's return, that their dejected spirits were wonderfully raised, and their hopes revived, by that infatuation of his.

43. But his modesty, or his wisdom, in the refusing that supreme title seemed not to be attended with the least disadvantage to him. They who had most signally opposed it were so satisfied that the danger they most apprehended was over, that they cared not to cross any thing else that was proposed towards his greatness, which might be their own another day: and they who had carried on the other design, and thereby, as they thought, obliged him, resolved now to give him all the power which they knew he did desire, and leave it to his own time, when with less hesitation he might assume the title too. And so they voted¹ that he should enjoy the title May 19, 22. and authority which he had already; which they enlarged in many particulars, beyond what it was by the first Instrument of Government, by another instrument, which they called the *Humble Petition and Advice*, and in which they granted him not only that authority for his life but power by his last will and testament, and in the presence of such a number of witnesses, to make choice of and to declare his own successor; which power should never be granted to any other Protector than himself. And when they had digested² and agreed upon this writing, at the passing whereof Lambert chose rather to be absent than opposite, they sent to him for an audience; which May 23. he assigned them on the 25th day of May, 1657, in the Banqueting House³; where their speaker Wythrington presented May 25.

¹ [by 77 to 45 on May 19, and finally by 53 to 50 on May 22.]

² ['digested,' MS.] ³ [the Painted Chamber; *Journals*, VII. 539.]

1657 and read the Petition and Advice of his Parliament, and desired his assent to it.

44. The contents and substance of it [were¹,] that his highness Oliver Cromwell should, under the title of Protector, be pleased to execute the office of chief magistrate over England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the territories and dominions thereunto belonging, &c., and to govern according to all things in that Petition and Advice: and also, that he would in his lifetime appoint the person that should succeed him in the government: that he would call a Parliament, consisting of two Houses, once in a year at farthest: that those persons who are legally chosen by a free election of the people to serve in Parliament may not be excluded from doing their duties but by consent of that House whereof they are members: that none but those under the qualifications therein mentioned should be capable to serve as members in Parliament: that the power of the other House be limited as therein is prescribed: that the laws and statutes of the land be observed and kept; no laws altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, but by new laws made by Act of Parliament: that the yearly sum of a million of pounds sterling be settled for the maintenance of the navy and army, and three hundred thousand pounds for the support of the government, besides other temporary supplies, as the Commons in Parliament shall see the necessities of the nation to require: that the number of the Protector's council shall not exceed the number of one and twenty, whereof seven shall be a quorum: the chief officers of state, as chancellors, keepers of the great seal, &c. to be approved by Parliament: that his highness would encourage a godly ministry in these nations, and that such as do revile and disturb them in the worship of God may be punished according to law, and where laws are defective new ones are to be made: that the Protestant Christian religion, as it is contained in the Old and New Testament, be asserted and held forth for the public profession of these nations, and no other; and that a Confession of Faith be agreed upon, and recommended to the people of these nations, and

¹ ['was,' MS.]

none to be permitted, by words or writing, to revile or reproach 1657
the said Confession of Faith.

45. After this Petition and Advice was distinctly read to him, after a long pause, and casting up his eyes, and other gestures of perplexity, he signed it; and he told them, that he came not thither that day as to a day of triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that ever he had in all his life, being to undertake one of the greatest burdens that ever was laid upon the back of any human creature; so that without the support of the Almighty he must necessarily sink under the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of the nations committed to his charge: therefore he desired the help of the Parliament, and the help of all those who feared God, that by their help he might receive help and assistance from the hand of God, since nothing but his presence could enable him to discharge so great a trust. He told them, that this was but an introduction to the carrying on of the government of the three nations; and therefore he commended the supply of the rest that was yet wanting to the wisdom of the Parliament; and said, he could not doubt but the same spirit that had led the Parliament to this would easily suggest the rest to them; and that nothing should have induced him to have undertaken this intolerable burden to flesh and blood, but that he saw it was the Parliament's care to answer those ends for which they were engaged; calling God to witness that he would not have undergone it but that the Parliament had determined that it made clearly for the liberty and interest of the nation, and preservation of such as fear God; and if the nations were not thankful to them for their care, it would fall as a sin on their heads. He concluded with recommending some things to them, which, he said, would tend to reformation, by discountenancing vice and encouraging virtue; and so dismissed them to return to their House.

46. But now that they had performed all that he could expect from them, he resolved that he would do somewhat for himself, and that all the discourses which had passed of kingship should not pass away in the silence of this address, but

1657 that this exaltation should be attended with such a noise and solemnity as should make it very little inferior to the other. And therefore within few days after he sent a message to the Parliament¹, that they would adjourn until such a time as the solemnity of his inauguration should be over; for the formality whereof they had not provided, nor indeed considered, as if enough had been done already: and for which he appointed the six and twentieth of June, and in the mean time assigned the care to several persons, that all things should be made ready for the magnificence of such a work.

June 26. 47. On the day appointed, West[minster] Hall was prepared, and adorned as sumptuously as it could be for a day of coronation. A throne was erected with a pavilion, and a chair of estate under it, to which Cromwell was conducted in an entry and attendance of his officers, military and civil, with as much state (and the sword carried before him) as can be imagined. When he was sate in his chair of state, and after a short speech, which was but the prologue of that by the Speaker of the Parliament, Wythrington, that this promotion might not be without any vote from the nobility, the Speaker, with the earl of Warwick and Whitlock, vested him with a rich purple velvet robe lined with ermines, the Speaker enlarging upon the majesty and the integrity of that robe. Then the Speaker presented him with a fair Bible of the largest edition, richly bound; then he, in the name of all the people, girded a sword about him; and, lastly, presented him a sceptre of gold, which he put into his hand, and made him a large discourse of those emblems of government and authority². Upon the close of which, there being nothing wanting to a perfect formal coronation but a crown and an archbishop, he took his oath, administered to him by the Speaker, in these words:

‘I do, in the presence and by the name of Almighty God, promise and swear, that to the uttermost of my power I will uphold and maintain the true reformed Protestant Christian religion, in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to the

¹ [He wrote on June 19 proposing that they should not adjourn until June 24 or 25, but the House sat continuously without any adjournment.]

² [*Mercur. Polit.*, No. 370, pp. 7897-8.]

utmost of my power and understanding, and encourage the profession and 1657 professors of the same; and that to the utmost of my power I will endeavour, as chief magistrate of these three nations, the maintenance and preserving of the peace and safety and just rights and privileges of the people thereof, and shall in all things, according to my best knowledge and power, govern the people of these three nations according to law.'

49. After this there remained nothing but festivals, and proclamations of his power and authority to be made in the city of London, and with all imaginable haste throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; which was done accordingly. And that he might entirely enjoy the sovereignty they had conferred upon him, without any new blasts and disputes, and might be vacant to the despatch of his domestic affairs, which he had modelled, and might well consider how to fill his other House with members fit for his purpose, he adjourned his Parliament till January next, as having done as much as was necessary for one session. And in this vacancy his greatness seemed to be very much established both at home and abroad, as if it could never be shaken. He caused all the officers of his army, and all commanders at sea, to subscribe and approve all that the Parliament had done, and to promise to observe and defend it.

50. He now sent for his eldest son Richard, who till this time had lived privately in the country, upon the fortune his wife¹ had brought him, in an ordinary village² in Hampshire, and brought him now to the court, and made him a privy Dec. 31. councillor, and caused him to be chosen chancellor of the uni- July 18. versity of Oxford. Notwithstanding all which, few people then believed that he intended to name him for his successor, he by his discourses often implying that he would name such a successor as was in all respects equal to the office: and so men guessed at this or that man, as they thought most like to be so esteemed by him. His second son Harry, who had the reputation of more vigour, he sent into Ireland, and made him Nov. 17. his lieutenant of that kingdom, that he might be sure to have no disturbance from thence.

¹ [Dorothy, daughter of Richard Major, married May 1, 1649.]

² [Hursley.]

1657 51. He had only two daughters unmarried: and one¹ of those he gave to the grandson and heir of the earl of Warwick, a man of a great estate, and thoroughly engaged in the war from the beginning; the other² was married to the lord viscount Falconbridge, the owner likewise of a very fair estate in Yorkshire, and descended of a family eminently loyal. And there were many reasons to believe that this young gentleman, being then of about three or four and twenty years of age, of great vigour and ambition, had many good purposes, which he thought that alliance might qualify and enable him to perform. These marriages were celebrated at Whitehall with all imaginable pomp and lustre; and it was observed that though the marriages were performed in public view according to the rites and ceremonies then in use, they were presently afterwards in private married by ministers ordained by bishops³, and according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer; and this with the privity of Cromwell, who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity and folly of his daughters.

52. These domestic triumphs were confirmed and improved by the success of his arms abroad. Though the French had no mind to apply their forces upon Dunkirk, which they were obliged, when taken, to put into Cromwell's hands, and so marched to other places which they were to conquer to their own use, in which the six thousand English, under the command of Reynolds, attended them, and behaved themselves eminently well, and in good discipline; yet his ambassador Lockhart⁴ made such lively instances with the cardinal, with complaints of their breach of faith, and some menaces that his master knew where to find a more punctual friend, that as Aug. 7. soon as they had taken Mon[tm]jedy the army marched into Flanders; and though the season of the year was too far spent to engage in a siege before Dunkirk, they sat down before

¹ [Frances, married to Mr. Robert Rich, Nov. 11, 1657.]

² [Mary, married Nov. 18, 1657, a week after her younger sister, Frances.]

³ [by Dr. Hewitt.]

⁴ ['Lockier,' MS.]

Mardike, which was looked upon as the most difficult part of 1657 the work, and which, being reduced, would facilitate the other Sept. 19¹. very much: and that fort they took and delivered it into the Sept. 23¹. hands of Reynolds, with an obligation that they would besiege Dunkirk the next year with the first attempt.

53. But that which made the noise indeed, and crowned his successes, was the victory his fleet, under the command of Mountague and Blake, had obtained over the Spaniard; which, in truth, with all its circumstances, was very wonderful, and will never be forgotten in Spain and the Canaries. That fleet had rode out all the winter storms before Cadiz and the coast of Portugal, after they had sent home those former ships which they had taken of the Indian fleet, and understood by the prisoners that the other fleet from Peru, which is always much richer than that of Mexico, was undoubtedly at sea, and would be on the coast by the beginning of the spring, if they received not advertisement of the presence of the English fleet; in which case they were most like to stay at the Canaries. The admirals concluded, that, notwithstanding all they had [done] or could do to block up Cadiz, one² way or other they would not be without that advertisement; and therefore resolved to sail with the whole fleet to the length of the Canaries, that if it were possible they might meet with the galleons before they came thither; and if they should be first got in thither, they would then consider what was to be done.

54. And with this resolution they stood for the Canaries, and about the middle of April came thither; and found that the galleons were got thither before them, and had placed themselves, as they thought, in safety. The smaller ships, being ten in number, lay in a semicircle moored along the shore, and the six great galleons, (the fleet consisted of sixteen good ships,) which could not come so near the shore, lay with their broadsides towards the offing. And besides this good posture in which all the ships lay, they were covered by a strong castle well furnished with guns; and there were six or seven small forts raised in the most advantageous places

¹ [*Mercur. Polit.*, No. 383, p. 1664.]

² ['that one,' MS.]

1657 of the bay, every one of them furnished with six good pieces of cannon; so that they were without the least apprehension of their security, or imagination that any men would be so desperate as to assault them upon such apparent disadvantage.

April 20. 55. When the English fleet came to the mouth of the bay of Santa Cruz, and the generals saw in what posture the Spaniards lay, and thought it impossible to bring off any of the galleons; however, they resolved to burn them, (which was by many thought to be equally impossible,) and sent captain Staneere with a squadron of the best ships to fall upon the galleons, which he did very resolutely; whilst other frigates entertained the forts and lesser breastworks with continual broadsides, to hinder their firing. And so the generals coming up with the whole fleet, after full four hours' fight, they drove the Spaniards from their ships, and possessed them; yet found that their work was not done, and that it was not only impossible to carry away the ships which they had taken, but that the wind that had brought them into the bay, and enabled them to conquer the enemy, would not serve to carry them out again, but that they lay exposed to all the cannon from the shore, which thundered upon them. However, they resolved to do what was in their power; and so, (discharging their broadsides upon the forts and land, where they did great execution,) they set fire to every ship, galleons and others, and burned every one of them; which they had no sooner done, but the wind turned, and carried the whole fleet, without loss of one ship, out of the bay, and put them safe to sea again.

56. The whole action was so miraculous, that all men who knew the place concluded that no sober men, with what courage soever endued, would ever undertake it; and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done; whilst the Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief that they were devils, and not men, which had destroyed them in such a manner. So much a strong resolution of bold and courageous men can bring to pass, that no resistance and advantage of ground can disappoint them. And it can hardly be imagined

how small loss the English sustained in this unparalleled 1657 action, no one ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred men, when the slaughter on board the [Spanish] ships and on the shore was incredible.

57. The fleet after this, having been long abroad, found it necessary to return home. And this was the last service performed by Blake, who sickened in his return, and in the very entrance of the fleet into the Sound of Plimmoth he expired. Aug. 17. But he wanted no pomp when he was dead, Cromwell causing him to be brought up by land to London in all the state that could be ; and then, according to the method of that time, to encourage his officers to be killed that they might be pompously buried, he was with all the solemnity possible, and at the charge of the public, interred in Harry the Seventh's chapel, Sept. 4. in the monument of the kings. He was a man of an ordinary extraction, yet left enough by his father to give him a good education, which his own inclination disposed him to receive in the university where he took the degree of a master of arts ¹, and was versed in books, for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having enough of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a better man than he was. He was of a melancholic and a sullen nature, and spent his time most with good fellows, who liked his morosity, and a freedom he used in inveighing against the license of the time and the power of the Court ; and they who knew him inwardly discovered that he had an anti-monarchical spirit, when few men thought the government in any danger. When the troubles began, he quickly declared himself against the King ; and having some command in Bristol, when it was first taken by prince Rupert and the marquis of Hartford, and being trusted with the command of a little fort upon the line, he refused to give it up after the governor had signed the articles of surrender, and kept it some hours after the prince was in the town, and killed some of the

¹ [Only of bachelor of arts, at Wadham college, Oxford, Feb. 17, 1613]. A William Blake ('frater Roberti, q.') of the same college took the degree of M.A., July 7, 1625 ; Wood MS., Bodl. Libr., E. 29, f. 105.]

1657 soldiers; for which the prince resolved to hang him, if some friends had not interposed for him upon his want of experience in war, and prevailed with him to quit the place by very great importunity and with much difficulty. He then betook himself wholly to the sea, and quickly made himself signal there, and was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined, and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and his men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection, as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him only to make a noise and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do if they were resolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water; and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that drew the copy of naval courage and bold and resolute achievement.

58. After all this lustre and glory, in which the Protector seemed to flourish, the season of the year threatened some tempest and foul weather. January brought the Parliament again together, and they did not re-assemble with the same temper and resignation in which they parted; and it quickly appeared how unsecure new institutions of government are; and when the contrivers of them have provided, as they think, against all mischievous contingencies, they find that they have unwarily left a gap open to let their destruction in upon them.

59. Cromwell thought he had sufficiently provided for his own security, and to restrain the insolence of the Commons, by having called the other House, which by the petition was to be done, and having filled it for the most part with officers of the army, and such other as he had good reason to be con-

fidant of. And so on the 20th of January, the day appointed 1658
to meet, whereas, before, the Parliament used to attend him Jan. 20.
in the Painted Chamber when he had anything to say to them,
now, he came to the House of Lords, where his new creations
were; and then he sent the gentleman usher of the black rod
to call the Commons to him. And they being conducted to the
bar of that House, he being placed in his chair under a cloth
of state, began his speech in the old style, 'My Lords, and you,
the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons;'
and then discoursed some particulars which he recommended to
them, thanked them for their fair correspondence the last
session, and assured them, if they would continue to prosecute
his designs, they should be called the blessed of the Lord, and
generations to come should bless them.

60. But as soon as the Commons came to their House, they
caused the third article of the Petition and Advice to be read,
by which it was provided that no members legally chosen should
be excluded from the performance of their duty but by consent
of that House of which they were members. Upon which they
proceeded to the calling over their House, and re-admitted
presently all those who had been excluded for refusing to sign
that recognition of the Protector; and by this means near two
hundred of the most inveterate enemies the Protector had come
and sat in the House; whereof sir Harry Vane, Haslerigge, and
many other signal men, were some, who had much the more
credit and interest in the House for having been excluded for
their fidelity to the commonwealth; many of those who had
subscribed it valuing themselves for having thereby become
instruments to introduce them again, who could never otherwise
have come to be re-admitted.

61. As soon as these men came into the House, they began Jan. 22.
to question the authority and jurisdiction of the other House:
'It was true that the Petition and Advice had admitted that
there should be such a House; but that it should be a House of
Peers, that they should be called "My Lords," there was no pro-
vision; nor did it appear what jurisdiction it should have: that
it would be a very ridiculous thing if they should suffer those

1657 who were created by themselves, and sat only by their vote, should be better men than they, and have a negative voice to control their masters.' When they had enough vilified them, they questioned the Protector's authority to send writs to call them thither: 'Who gave him that authority to make peers? it had been the proper business of that House to have provided for all this; which it is probable they would have done at this meeting, if he had not presumptuously taken that sovereign power upon him.'

62. Cromwell was exceedingly surprised and perplexed with this new spirit, and found that he had been shortsighted in not having provided at the same time for the filling his House of Commons when he erected his other of Peers: for he had taken away those out of that House who were the boldest speakers, and best able to oppose this torrent, to institute this other House, without supplying those other places by men who could as well undergo the work of the other. However, he made one
 Jan. 25. effort more, and convened both Houses before him, and very magisterially, and in a dialect he had never used before, he reprehended them for presuming to question his authority. The other House, he said, were lords, and they should be lords; and commanded them to enter upon such business as might be for the benefit, not the distraction, of the commonwealth, which he would with God's help prevent. And when he found this animadversion did not reform them, but that they continued in their presumption, and every day improved their reproaches and contempt of him, he went to his House of Lords upon the [fourth¹] of February; and sending for the Commons, after he [had] used many sharp expressions of indignation, he told them, that it concerned his interest, as much as the peace and tranquillity of the nation, to dissolve that Parliament, and therefore he did put an end to their sitting. And so that cloud was for the present dissipated that threatened so great a storm.

63. The Parliament being dissolved, Cromwell found himself at ease to prosecute his designs. After the taking of Mardike, Reynolds, who was commander in chief of that body of the

¹ ['20th,' MS.]

English in the service of France, endeavouring to give his friends in England a visit, was, together with some other officers who accompanied him, cast away, and drowned at sea; upon which, before the dissolution of the Parliament, Lockhart², who was his [the Protector's] ambassador in France, was designed to take that charge upon him; and all things which were to be transported from England for the prosecution of the business in Flanders the next spring, were executed with the more care and punctuality, that there might be no room left for the cardinal to imagine that he [the Protector] was in any degree perplexed with the contradiction and ill humour of the Parliament.

64. And as soon as he was rid of that, he thought it was necessary to give some instances at home how little he feared those men, who were thought to be so much his rivals in power, and in the opinion of the army, that he durst not disoblige them. And therefore, after some sharp expostulations with Lambert, who was as positive in his own humour, he sent to him for his commission; which he sullenly gave up, when there was a general imagination that he would have refused to have delivered it. So he was deprived of his regiment, his authority in the army, and of being major general in the north, in an instant, without the least appearance of contradiction or murmur; and the officers he [Cromwell] substituted in the several places found all the obedience that had been paid to the other; and Lambert retired to his garden, as unvisited and untaken notice of as if he had never been in authority; which gave great reputation to the Protector, that he was entire master of his army.

65. He had observed throughout the Parliament that the major generals were extremely odious to the people, as they had been formidable to him. For whilst his party were prosecuting to have his authority confirmed to him, and that he might have the title of king conferred upon him, Lambert was as solicitous

¹ [*Calend. Dom. S. P.*, 1657-8, p. 213.]

² ['Lockier,' MS. Clarendon's ways of spelling this name are so various, viz. Lockyer, Lockard, Lockyard, &c., that to avoid confusion the ordinary form, Lockhart, has been left in the text throughout.]

³ [*Calend. Dom. S. P.*, 1657-8, p. 41.]

1658 to have the major generals confirmed by Parliament, and to have their dependence only upon it ; which, with the authority they had of listing men in a readiness, would have made their power and their strength in a short time to be equal to the other's. Now that was over, he [Cromwell] was content to continue their names, that they might still be formidable in the countries, but abridged them of all that power which might be inconvenient to him.

66. He took likewise an occasion, from an accident that happened, to amuse the people with the apprehension of plots at home to facilitate an invasion from abroad ; and sending for
March 12. the lord mayor and aldermen to attend him, he made them a large discourse of the danger they were in of being surprised ; that there was a design to seize upon the Tower, and at the same time that there should be a general insurrection in the city of the cavaliers and discontented party ; whilst they remained so secure, that they had put their militia into no posture to be ready to preserve themselves in such an attempt, but, on the contrary, that they were so negligent in their discipline, that the marquis of Ormonde had lain securely in the city full three weeks without being discovered, who was sent over by the King to countenance a general insurrection ; whilst the King himself, he said, had 10,000 men ready at Bridges [Bruges], with two and twenty ships, with which he meant to invade some other more northern part of the kingdom. He wished them to lose no time in putting their militia into a good posture, and [to] make very strict searches to discover what strangers were harboured within the walls of the city, and to keep good watches every night. And he caused double guards to be set about the Tower ; and that they might see that there was more than ordinary cause for all this, he caused very many persons of all conditions, most of them such as were reasonably to be suspected to be of the King's party, to be surprised in the night in their beds, (for those circumstances made all that was done to be the more notorious,) and, after some short examination, to be sent to the Tower and to other prisons ; for there was at the same time the same severity used in the several

counties. For the better explanation and understanding whereof, 1656 it will be necessary now that we return to Flanders.

67. Within little more than two months after the King's coming to Bruges, the little treaty which had been signed by the arch-duke with the King was sent ratified from Madrid by the King of Spain, with many great compliments; which the King was willing should be believed to be of extraordinary importance. After wonderful excuses for the lowness of their affairs in all places, which disabled them to perform those services which are due from and to a great king, they let his majesty know that the Catholic King had assigned so many crowns as amounted to six thousand guilders to be paid every month towards a royal aid, and half so much more for the support of the duke of Gloster; and that though the sum was very small, it was as much as their necessities would bear; and the smallness should be recompensed by the punctuality of the payment; the first payment being to be made about the middle of the next month; without taking notice that the King had been already in that country near three months, during which time he had not received the least present or assistance towards his support.

68. They were willing that the King should raise four regiments of foot, which should march with their army, until the King should find the season ripe to make an invasion with that other supply which they were bound by the treaty to give. But for the raising those four regiments there was not one penny allowed, or any other encouragement than little quarters to bring their men to, and, after their muster, the common allowance of bread. However, the King was glad of the opportunity to employ and dispose of many officers and soldiers, who flocked to him from the time of his first coming into Flanders. He resolved to raise one regiment of guards, the command whereof he gave to the lord Wentworth, which was to do duty in the army as common men, till his majesty should be in such a posture that they might be brought about his person. The marquis of Ormonde had a regiment in order to be commanded by his lieutenant colonel, that the Irish might be tempted to

1656 come over. The earl of Rochester would have a regiment, that such officers and soldiers might resort to who were desirous to serve under his command: and because the Scots had many officers about the Court who pretended that they could draw many of their countrymen to them, the King gave the fourth regiment to the lord Newborough, a nobleman of that kingdom, of great courage, and who had served his father and himself with very signal fidelity. And those four regiments were raised with more expedition than can be imagined upon so little encouragement.

69. As soon as the treaty was confirmed, in truth from the time that his majesty came into Flanders, and that he resolved to make as entire a conjunction with the Spaniard as they would permit, he gave notice to the king of France that he would no longer receive that pension, which during the time he had remained at Cullen had been reasonably well paid; but after his coming into Flanders he never would receive any part of it.

70. The Spanish army was at this time before Condé, a place garrisoned by the French between Valenciennes and Cambray, which was invested now by don Juan, who, finding that the greatest part of the garrison consisted of Irish, and that there was in it a regiment commanded by Musker[r]y, a nephew of the marquis of Ormonde, thought¹ this a good season to manifest the dependence the Irish had upon the King, and therefore writ to his majesty at Bruges, and desired that he would send the marquis to the camp; which his majesty could not refuse, and the marquis was very willing to go thither. And at the same time the Chancellor [of the Exchequer] was sent to Sept. 26². Bruxells, under pretence of soliciting the payment of the three first months which were assigned to the King, to confer with don Alonso de Cardenas, upon all such particulars as might be necessary to adjust some design for the winter upon England; don Juan and the marquis [of] Caracena referring all things which related to England to him, and [being³] very glad that

¹ ['he thought,' MS.]

² [*Calend. Clar. S. P.*, iii. 176.]

³ ['were,' MS.]

the Chancellor went to Bruxells at the same time that the 1656
marquis went to the camp, that so a correspondence between
them two might ascertain any thing that should be desired on
either side.

71. Condé was reduced to straits by the time the marquis ^{Aug. 3,}
came thither, who was received with much more civility by don ^{N.S.¹}
Juan, at least by the marquis of Caracena, than any man who
related to the King, or indeed than the King himself. The
thing they desired of him was, that when the garrison should be
reduced, which was then capitulating, he would prevail with
those of the Irish nation, when they marched out, to enter into
the Spanish service, that is, as they called it, to serve their own
King: for they talked of nothing but going over in the winter
into England; especially they desired that his nephew Mus-
ker[r]y, who had the reputation of a stout and an excellent
officer, as in truth he was, would come over with his regiment,
which was much the best, whatever the other would do. After
the capitulation was signed, the marquis easily found opportunity ^{Aug. 18.}
to confer with his nephew, and the other officers of the several
regiments. When he had informed them of the King's pleasure,
and that the entering in[to] the service of the Spaniard was for
the present necessary in order to the King's, the other regiments
made no scruple of it, and engaged as soon as they marched out
to go whither they should be directed.

72. Only Musker[r]y expressly refused that either himself or
any of his men should leave their colours till, according to his
articles, they should march into France. He said it was not
consistent with his honour to do otherwise. But he declared
that as soon as he should come into France, he would leave his
regiment in their quarters, and would himself ride to the Court
and demand his pass, which by his contract with the cardinal
was to be given to him whenever his own King should demand
his service, and his regiment should likewise be permitted to
march with him ². It was urged to him, that it was now in his
own power to dispose of himself, which he might lawfully do,
but that when he was found in France he would no more have

¹ [*Calend. Clar. S. P.*, iii. 155.]

² [*ibid.*, 163.]

1656 it in his power. He said, he was bound to ask his dismissal, and the cardinal was bound to give it: and when he had done his part, he was very confident the cardinal would not break his word with him; but if he should, he would get nothing by it, for he knew his men would follow him whithersoever he went; and therefore desired his uncle to satisfy himself, and to assure the King and don Juan that he would within six weeks return; and if he might have quarters assigned him, his regiment should be there within few days after him. It was in vain to press him farther, and the marquis telling don John that he believed he would keep his word, he was contented to part kindly with him, and had much a better esteem of him than of the other officers who came to him and brought over their men without any ceremony.

73. Musker[r]y marched away with the rest of the garrison; and as soon as he was in France he rode to Paris, where the cardinal then was, who received him with extraordinary grace; but when he asked his dismissal, and urged his capitulation, the cardinal, by all imaginable caresses, and promises of a pension, endeavoured to divert him from the inclination; told him that this was only to serve the Spaniard, and not his own King, who had no employment for him: that if he would stay in their service till the King had need of him, he would take care to send him and his regiment in a better condition to him than they were now in. When he could neither by promises nor reproaches divert him from quitting their service, he gave him a pass only for himself, and expressly refused to dismiss the regiment¹, averring that he was not bound to it, because there could be no pretence that they could serve the King, who had no use of them nor wherewithal to pay them.

74. He took what he could get, his own pass, and made haste to the place where his regiment was; and after he had given such directions as he thought necessary, he came away only with two or three servants to Bruxells, and desired don Juan to assign him convenient quarters for his regiment, which he very willingly did; and he no sooner gave notice to them

¹ [*Calend. Clar. S. P.*, iii, 190.]

whither they should come, but they behaved themselves so, that ¹⁶⁵⁶ by sixes and sevens his whole regiment, officers and soldiers, to the number of very near 800, came to the place assigned them, and brought their arms with them; which the Spaniard was amazed at, and ever after very much valued him, and took as much care for the preservation of that regiment as of any that was in their service.

75. When the marquis proposed any thing that concerned the King during the time he was in the army, they still writ to don Alonso to confer with the Chancellor about it; who found him in all respects so untractable, and so absolutely governed by an Irish Jesuit¹, who filled his head with the hopes of the Levellers, that, after he had received the money that was assigned to the King, he returned to Bruges, as the marquis did from the army when the business of Condé was over.

76. It was well enough known, at least generally believed, from the time that the secret confidence began between Cromwell and the cardinal, and long before Lockhart appeared there as ambassador, that the cardinal had not only promised that the King should receive no assistance from thence, but that nobody who related to his service, or against whom any exceptions should be taken, should be permitted to reside in France; and that as the King had already been driven thence, so, that when the time should be ripe the duke of York would be likewise necessitated to leave that kingdom. And now upon the King's coming into Flanders, and upon the coming over of the six thousand English for the service of France, and the publication of the treaty, they did not much desire to keep that article secret which provided against the King's residing in that kingdom, and for the exclusion of the duke of York, and many other persons, by name, who attended upon the King, and some who had charges in the army. And the cardinal and the Queen, with some seeming regret, communicated it to the duke, as a thing they could not refuse, and infinitely lamented, with many professions of kindness and everlasting respect; and all this in

¹ [Peter Talbot.]

1856 confidence, and that he might know it some time before it was to be executed by his departure.

77. Amongst those who by that secret article [were¹] to leave the French service, the earl of Bristol was one; whose name was, (as was generally believed) put into the article by the cardinal rather than by Cromwell. For the earl, having received very great obligations from the cardinal, thought his interest greater in the Queen than in truth it was, (according to his natural custom of deceiving himself,) and so in the other's disgrace and retirement had shewed himself less inclined to his return than he ought to have done; which the cardinal never forgave, yet treated him with the same familiarity as before, (which the earl took for pure friendship,) until the time came for the publishing this treaty, when the earl was lieutenant general of the army in Italy. And then he sent for him, and bewailed the condition that France was in, which obliged them to receive commands from Cromwell which were very uneasy to them; then told him that he could stay no longer in their service, and that they must be compelled to dismiss the duke of York himself; but then made infinite professions of kindness, and that they would part with him as with a man that had done them great service. The earl, who could always much better bear ill accidents than prevent them, believed that all proceeded from the malice of Cromwell, and quickly had the image of a better fortune in his fancy than that he was to quit; and so, setting his heart upon the getting as good a supply of money from them as he could, and the cardinal desiring to part fairly with him, he received such a present as enabled him to remove with a handsome equipage in servants and horses. And Aug.² so he came directly for Bruges to the King, to whom he had made himself in some degree gracious before his majesty left Paris. But his business there was only to present his duty to his majesty; where after he had stayed two or three days, he made his journey to the army to offer his service to don Juan, without so much as desiring any recommendation from the King.

¹ ['was,' MS.]

² [*Calend. Clar. S. P.*, iii. 155.]

78. There was nothing more known than that the Spaniard 1656 had all the imaginable prejudice and hatred against the earl, both for the little kindness he had shewed towards them in England whilst he was Secretary of State, of which don Alonso was a faithful remembrancer, and for the more than ordinary animosity he had expressed against them from the time that he had been in the French service; which angered them the more, 1612 because he had been born in Spain. He had then likewise Oct. rendered himself particularly odious to Flanders, where he was proclaimed and detested in all the rhythms and songs of the country, for the savage outrages he had committed by fire and plunder two years before, when he made a winter incursion with his troops into that country, and committed greater waste than ever the French themselves had done when the forces were commanded by them. Upon all which, his friends dissuaded him at Bruges from going to the Spanish army, where he would receive very cold treatment. But he smiled at the advertisements, and told them that all the time he was in France he was out of his sphere; and that his own genius always disposed him to Spain, where he was now resolved to make his fortune. And with this confidence he left Bruges, and went to the army when it had newly taken Condé, where he found his reception such, Aug. 18. both from don Juan and the marquis of Caracena, as he had reason to expect; which did not at all deject him.

79. He was present when don Juan eat, and when he used to discourse of all things at large, and most willingly of scholastical points, if his confessor or other learned person was present. The earl always interposed in those discourses, with an admirable acuteness, which, besides his exactness in the Spanish language, made his parts wondered at by every body; and don Juan began to be very much pleased in his company, and the more because he was much given to the speculations in astrology, in which he found the earl so much more conversant than any man he had met with, that within a week after he had first seen him he desired the earl to compute his nativity. In a word, his presence grew to be very acceptable to him; which when the marquis Caracena discerned, he likewise treated him with more respect;

1656 in which he found likewise his account: for the earl having been lieutenant general of the French army under prince Thomas, in conjunction with the duke of Modena, against Milan¹, the very year before, when the marquis Caracena was governor there, he could both discourse the several transactions there with the marquis, and knew how to take fit occasions both in his presence and absence to magnify his conduct in signal actions, which the marquis was very glad to see and hear that he did very frequently. And don Alonso himself, being sent for to the army to consult some affair, though he had all imaginable detestation of the earl, and had prepared as much prejudice towards him in don Juan and the marquis, when he found him in so much favour with both, he treated him likewise with more regard, and was well content to hear himself commended by him for understanding the affairs of England; which he desired don Juan and the marquis should believe him to do. So that before he had been a month in Flanders, he had perfectly reconciled himself to the Court and to the army, and suppressed and diverted all the prejudice that had been against him. And don Juan invited him to spend the winter with him at Bruxells.

80. There was another accident likewise fell out at this time, as if it had been produced by his own stars. The French had yet a garrison at a place called St. Gillin; which, being within four leagues of Bruxells, infested the whole country very much, and even put them into mutiny against the Court, because they would think of any other expedition before they had reduced that garrison; which was so strong that they had once attempted it and were obliged to desist. Half the garrison was Irish, under the command of Schombergh, an officer of the first rank. Some of the officers were nearly allied to Sir George Lane, who was secretary to the marquis of Ormonde, and had written to him to know whether the giving up that place would be a service to the King; and if it would, they would undertake it. The marquis sent his secretary to inform the earl of Bristol of it, who looked upon it as an opportunity sent from heaven to raise his fortune with the Spaniard. And he com-

¹ ['Millayne,' MS.]

municated it to don Juan as a matter in his own disposal, and ¹⁶⁵⁶ to be conducted by persons who had a dependence upon him, but yet who intended it only as a service to the King. And so now he became intrusted between the King and don Juan; which he had from the beginning contrived to be; don Juan being very glad to find he had so much interest in the King, and the King well pleased that he had such credit with don Juan, of whose assistance in the next winter he thought he should have so much use; for all attempts upon England must be in the winter. In a word, this affair of St. Gillin was so acceptable to the Spaniards, their *campania* being ended without any other considerable action than the taking of Condé, that they foresaw a very sad year would succeed if they should enter into the field, where they were sure the French would be early, and leave St. Gillin behind them; and they should run more hazard if they began with the siege of that place; and therefore they authorized the earl to promise great rewards, in money and pensions, to those officers and soldiers who would contribute to the reduction of it. The matter was so well carried, that don Juan assembling his army together a little before Christmas, in a very great frost, and coming before the place, though Schombergh discovered the conspiracy and apprehended two or three of the officers, the soldiers which were upon the guard in some out-forts declaring themselves at the same time, and receiving the Spaniards, he was compelled to make conditions, ¹⁶⁵⁷ and to give up the place, that he might have liberty to march ^{March 23,} N.S. away with the rest.

81. This service was of infinite importance to the Spaniard, and of no less detriment to the French, and consequently gave great reputation to the earl, who then came to the King at Bruges; and said all that he thought fit of don Juan to the King, and, amongst the rest, that don Juan advised his majesty to send some discreet person to Madrid, to solicit his affairs there; but that he did not think the person he had designed to send thither (who was De Vic, that had been long resident in Bruxells) would be acceptable there. This was only to introduce another person, who was dear to him, sir H. Bennett,

1657 who had been formerly his servant when he was Secretary of State, and bred by him, and was now secretary to the duke of York; but, upon the factions which were in that family, was so uneasy in his place that he desired to be in any other post, and was about this time come to the King, as a forerunner, to inform him of the duke of York's purpose to be speedily with him, being within few days to take his leave of the Court of France. Bennett had been long a person very acceptable to the King; and therefore his majesty readily consented that he should go to Madrid instead of De Vic: and so he returned with the earl to Bruxells, that he might be presented and made known to don Juan; from whom the earl doubted not to procure particular recommendation.

82. The time was now come that the duke of York found it necessary to leave Paris, and so came to the King to Bruges; where there were then all the visible hopes of the Crown of England together, and all the royal issue of the last King, the princess Henrietta only excepted; for, besides the King and his two brothers, the dukes of York and Gloster, the Princess Royal of Aurange made that her way from Paris into the Low Countries, and stayed there some days with her brother.

1658
Jan. 13. N.S. 83. And then it was that the King made the Chancellor of the Exchequer Lord High Chancellor of England, sir Edward Harbert, who was the last Keeper of the Great Seal, being lately dead at Paris¹. And so the King put the Seal, which he had till then kept himself, into the hands of the Chancellor, which he received very unwillingly: but the King first put the marquis of Ormonde, with whom [his majesty²] knew he had an entire friendship, to dispose him to receive it; which when he could not do, (he giving him many reasons, besides his own unfitness, why there was no need of such an officer, or indeed any use of the Great Seal, till the King should come into England, and that his majesty found some ease in being without such an officer, that he was not troubled with those

¹ [Buried at Paris in the Protestant burying-place in the suburbs, Jan. 3, N.S., 1658. *Calend. Dom. S. P.*, 1657-8, p. 232.]

² ['he,' MS.]

suits which he would be if the Seal were in the hands of a proper officer to be used, since every body would be then importuning the King for the grant of offices, honours, and lands, which would give him great vexation to refuse, and he would undergo great mischief by granting; the which when the marquis told the King,) his majesty himself went to the Chancellor's lodging, and took notice of what the marquis had told him, and said he would deal truly and freely with him; that the principal reason which he had alleged against receiving the Seal was the greatest reason that disposed him to confer it upon him. And thereupon he pulled letters out of his pocket, which he received lately from Paris, for the grant of several reversions in England of offices and of lands; one whereof was of the Queen's house and lands at Oatlands, to the same man who had purchased it from the State, who would willingly have paid a good sum of money to that person who was to procure such a confirmation of his title; the draught whereof was prepared at London, upon confidence that it would have the Seal presently put to it, which being in the King's own hand, none need, as they thought, to be privy to the secret. His majesty told him also of many other importunities with which he was every day disquieted, and that he saw no other remedy to give him ease than to put the Seal out of his own keeping into such hands as would not be importuned, and would help him to deny. And thereupon he conjured the Chancellor to receive that trust, with many gracious promises of his favour and protection. Whereupon, the earl of Bristol and Secretary Nicholas using likewise their persuasions, he submitted to the King's pleasure, who delivered the Seal to him in Council in the Christmas time in the year 1657[-8]; which particular is only fit to be mentioned because many great affairs and some alterations accompanied, though not attended upon, it¹.

84. After so long and so dark a retirement in Cullen, the King's very coming into Flanders raised the spirits of his

¹ [The words 'mentioned — it' are substituted for the following:— 'inserted in these memorials which concern his own life, and will easily be left out of the general history of that time.']

1658 friends in England. And when they were assured that there was a treaty signed between his majesty and the King of Spain, they made no doubt of an army sufficient to begin the business, and then that the general affections of the kingdom would finish it. And the King, who had hitherto restrained his friends from exposing themselves to unnecessary dangers, thought it now fit to encourage them to put themselves into such a posture that they might be ready to join with him when he appeared, which he hoped the Spaniard would enable him to do in the depth of winter. Several messengers were sent from thence to assure him that there was so universal a readiness there, that they could hardly be persuaded to stay to expect the King, but they would begin the work themselves: yet they complained much of the backwardness of those who were most trusted by the King, who again as much inveighed against the rashness and precipitation of the other, who would ruin themselves and all people who should join with them.

85. The King was much perplexed to discover this distemper amongst those who, being united, would find the work very hard; and though he preferred in his own opinion the judgment of those who were most wary, yet it concerned him to prevent the other from appearing in an unseasonable engagement; and therefore [he] sent to them, and conjured them to attempt nothing till he sent a person to them who, if they were ready, should have authority enough to persuade the rest to a conjunction with them, and should himself be fit to conduct them in any reasonable enterprise.

86. The marquis of Ormonde had frankly offered to the King that he would privately go into England, and confer with those who were most forward; and if he found that their counsels were discreetly laid, he would encourage them, and unite all the rest to them; and if matters were not ripe, he would compose them to be quiet; and there was no man in England affected to the King's service who would not be readily advised by him. The Chancellor would by no means consent to his journey, as an unreasonable adventure upon an improbable design, seeing no ground to imagine they could do any thing. But the

marquis exceedingly undervalued any imagination of danger; 1658 and it cannot be conceived with what security all men ventured every day, in the height of Cromwell's jealousy and vigilancy, to go into England, and to stay a month in London, and return again. The King consenting to the journey, the chief care was, that the marquis his absence from Bruges might not create jealousy and discourse whither he should be gone. Therefore it was for some time discoursed that the marquis of Ormonde was to go into Germany to the duke of Newburgh, (who was known to have affection for the King,) and that he should from thence bring with him two regiments for the service of his majesty.

87. These discourses being generally made and believed, the marquis took his leave publicly of the King, with his servants fit for such a journey, which continued the journey toward Germany; so that the letters from Cullen to all places gave an account of the marquis of Ormonde's being there; whilst he himself, with one only servant, and O'Neale, (who had inflamed him very much to that undertaking,) took the way of Holland, and hired a bark at S[c]hivilin, in which they embarked, and were safely landed in Essex; from whence without any trouble Feb. 2, they got to London, whilst the Parliament was still sitting. N.S.¹ When he was there, he found opportunity to speak with most of those of any condition upon whose advice and interest the King most depended, and against whose positive advice he would not suffer any thing to be attempted. That which troubled him most was to discover a jealousy, or rather an animosity, between many of those who equally wished the King's restoration, to that degree that they would neither confer nor correspond with each other. They who had the most experience and were of the greatest reputation, with those who would appear when any thing was to be done but would not expose themselves in meetings or correspondencies before, complained very much of the rashness of the other, who believed

¹ [Extract from a letter from Ormonde of Feb. 5, among the Clarendon MSS. Carte and others say that Ormonde went to England at the beginning of Jan.]

1658 any officer of the army who pretended discontent, and would presently desire them to communicate with such persons; and because they refused, (as they had reason,) the other laded them with reproaches, as having lost all affection and zeal for his majesty's service. They protested that they could not discover or believe that there was any such preparation in readiness, that it could be counsellable to appear in arms against a government so fortified and established as the Protector's seemed to be: that it was probable the Parliament might not comply with Cromwell's desires, and then there was such a discovery of malice between several persons of potent conditions that many advantages might be offered to the King's party; and if they would have the patience to attend the event, and till those factions should be engaged in blood, they might be sure to advance the King's interest in disposing of themselves; but if they should engage before such a time in any insurrection, or by seizing some insignificant town, all dissenting parties would be reconciled till they should all be ruined, though they would afterwards return to their old animosities. In a word, though they appeared very wary, they declared such a resignation to the King's pleasure, that, if the marquis were satisfied upon his conference with other men that the time was ripe for their appearance in arms, they would presently receive his orders, and do what he should require, how unsuccessfully soever.

88. On the other side, there were many younger men, who, having had no part in the former war, were impatient to shew their courage and affection to the King. And those men being acquainted with many of the old officers of the late King's army, who saw many of their old soldiers now in Cromwell's army, and found them to talk after their old manner, concluded they would all appear for the King as soon as they should see his colours flying. And these men, talking together, would often discourse how easy a thing it would be with two troops of horse to beat up such a quarter, or seize such a guard; and then those men consulted how to get those troops, and found men who had listed so many, which would be ready upon call.

There were always in these meetings some citizens, who under- 1658 took for the affection of the city, and some of these made little doubt of seizing upon the Tower. And truly the putting many gentlemen's sons as apprentices into the city, since the beginning of the troubles, had made a great alteration, at least in the general talk of that people. It was upon this kind of materials that many honest men had built their hopes, and upon some assurances they had from officers of the army, who were as little worthy to be depended upon.

89. There was another particular which had principally contributed to this distemper, which, passing from hand to hand, had made men impatient to be in arms; which was, an opinion that the King was even ready to land with such an army that would be able to do his business. And this had been dispersed by some who had been sent expresses into Flanders, who, though they always lay concealed during the time they waited for their despatches from the King, yet found some friends and acquaintance about the Court, or in their way, who thought they did good service in making his majesty to be thought to be in a good condition, and so filled those people with such discourses as would make them most welcome when they returned.

90. When the marquis had taken a full survey of all that was to be depended upon, he conjured the warmer people to be quiet, and not to think of any action till they should be infallibly sure of the King's being landed, and confirmed the other in their wariness; and being informed that Cromwell knew of his being there, and made many searches for him, he thought it time to return. And so about the time that the Parliament was dissolved, he was conducted by Dr. Quarterman, who was the King's physician, through Sussex, and there embarked, and safely transported into France; from whence he Feb. 28, came well into Flanders. N.S.¹

¹ [Original letter from Ormonde to Hyde among the Clarendon MSS., dated March 1, in which he says that he arrived in France the previous night, after a dangerous passage. Carte places his return at the beginning of February.]

1658 91. This gave the occasion to Cromwell to make that dis-
 § 66. course before mentioned to the mayor and aldermen of London, of the lord marquis of Ormonde having been three weeks in the city; of which he had received perfect intelligence from a hand that was not then in the least degree suspected, nor was then wicked enough to put him into his hand¹, which he could as easily have done; of which more shall be said hereafter. But when he [the Protector] was well assured that the marquis was out of his reach, which vexed and grieved him exceedingly, he caused all persons, who he knew had, or he thought might have, spoken with him, to be apprehended. All prisons, as well in the country as the city, were filled with those who had been of the King's party, or he believed would be; and he thought this a necessary season to terrify his enemies of all conditions within the kingdom with spectacles which might mortify them.

92. In the preparations which had been made towards an insurrection, many persons in the country as well as in the city had received commissions for regiments of horse and foot; and amongst the rest one Mr. Stapely, a gentleman of a good extraction, and a good fortune in the county of Sussex, whose mother had been sister to the earl of Norwich, but his father had been in the number of the blackest offenders, and one of the King's judges. This son of his, and who possessed his estate, had taken great pains to mingle in the company of those who were known to have affection for the King, and upon all occasions made professions of a desire, for the expiation of his father's crime, to venture his life and his fortune for his majesty's restoration; and not only his fortune but his interest was considerable in that maritime county: so that many thought fit to cherish those inclinations in him, and to encourage him to hope that his fidelity might deserve to enjoy that estate which the treason of his father had forfeited.

93. There was a young gentleman, John Mordant, the younger son, and brother, of the earl of Peterborough, who, having been too young to be engaged in the late war, during which time he had his education in France and Italy, was now

¹ [Sir R. Willis.]

of age, of parts, and great vigour of mind, and newly married to **1658** a young beautiful lady¹, of a very loyal spirit, and notable vivacity of wit and humour, who concurred with him in all honourable dedication of himself. He resolved to embrace all opportunities to serve the King, and to dispose those upon whom he had influence to take the same resolution; and being allied to the marquis of Ormonde, he did by him inform his majesty of his resolution, and his readiness to receive any commands from him. This was many months before the marquis's journey into England.

94. Mr. Stapely was well known to Mr. Mordant, who had represented his affections to the King, and how useful he might be towards the possessing some place in Sussex, and his undertaking that he would do so, by a letter to the King under his, Mr. Stapely's, own hand: and thereupon Mr. Mordant desired that his majesty would send a commission for the command of a regiment of horse to him, which he would provide, and cause to be ready against the season he should be required to appear: which commission, with many others, [was ²] sent to Mr. Mordant; and he delivered it to Mr. Stapely, who was exceedingly pleased with it, renewed all his vows and protestations, and it is still believed he really meant all that he pretended. But he **1657** had trusted some servant, who betrayed him; and being there- **Nov. 20³.** upon sent for by Cromwell, his father's fast old friend, was by him so cajoled, by promises and by threats, that he was not able to withstand him; but believing that he knew all which he asked him already, he concealed nothing that he knew himself, informed him of those of the same country who were to join April 10. with him, of whom some had likewise received commissions as well as himself, and, in the end, he confessed that he had received his commission from Mr. Mordant's own hand⁴. Before this discovery Mr. Mordant had been sent for by Cromwell, and very strictly examined whether he had seen the marquis of Ormonde during his late being in London; which, though he had done often, he very confidently and positively denied, being

¹ [Elizabeth Carey, grand-daughter of the first earl of Monmouth.]

² ['were,' MS.] ³ [*Calend. Clar. S. P.*, iii. 388-9.]

⁴ [From Dr. Hewitt's hand; *Thurloe's S. P.*, vii. 66, cf. 86, 89.]

1658 well assured that it could not be proved, and that the marquis himself was in safety; upon which confident denial he was dismissed to return to his own lodging. But upon this discovery by Stapely he was within two days after sent for again, and committed close prisoner to the Tower; and new men were every day sent for, and committed in all quarters of the kingdoms; and within some time after, a high court of justice was erected for the trial of the prisoners, the crimes of none being yet discovered; which put all men who knew how liable they themselves were under a terrible consternation.

95. Before this high court of justice, of which John Lysle, who gave his vote in the King's blood, and continued an entire confident and instrument of Cromwell, was president, there
 June 1. were first brought to be tried, John Mordant, sir Harry Slingsby, a gentleman of a very ancient family and of a very ample fortune in Yorkshire, and Dr. Hewett, an eminent preacher in London, and very orthodox, to whose church those of the King's party frequently resorted, and few but those. These three were totally unacquainted with each other; and though every one of them knew enough against themselves, they could not accuse one another, if they had been inclined to it. The first and the last could not doubt but that there would be evidence enough against them; and they had found means to correspond so much together, as to resolve that neither of them would plead to the impeachment, but demur to the jurisdiction of the court, and desire to have counsel assigned to argue against it in point of law; they being both sufficiently instructed how to urge law enough to make it evident that neither of them could be legally tried by that court, and that it was erected contrary to law. The first that was brought to trial, [Mordant], after his impeachment was read, by which he found that the delivery of the commission to Stapely would be principally insisted on, and he knew might too easily be proved, according to former resolution, refused¹ to plead *not guilty*, but insisted that by the law of the land he ought not to be tried by that court, for which he gave more reasons than they could

¹ ['he refused,' MS.]

answer, and then desired that his counsel might have liberty to 1658 argue the point in law, which of course used to be granted in all legal courts. But he was told that he was better to bethink himself; that they were well satisfied in the legality of their court, and would not suffer the jurisdiction of it to be disputed; that the law of England had provided a sentence for such obstinate persons as refused to be tried by it, which was, that they should be condemned as mute; which would be his case, if he continued refractory: and so he was carried back to the Tower, to consider better what he would do the next day. Sir H. Slingsby was called [next,] and knowing nothing of or for the other resolution, he pleaded *not guilty*; and so was sent to the prison to be tried in his turn. Dr. Hewett, whose greatest crime was collecting and sending money to the King, besides having given money to some officers, refused to plead, as Mr. Mordant had done, and demanded that his counsel might be heard, and received the same answer and admonition that he had done, and was remitted again to the prison.

96. Those courts seldom consisted of fewer than twenty judges; amongst whom there were usually some who, out of generosity or for money, were inclined to do good offices to the prisoners who came before them, at least to communicate such secrets to them, as might inform them what would be most pressed against them. And Mr. Mordant's lady had, by giving any money, procured some in the number to be very propitious to her husband; and in the evening of that day when the trial had been begun, she received two very important advices from them. The one, that she should prevail with her husband to plead; and then his friends might do him some service; whereas if he insisted upon the point of law, he would infallibly suffer, and no man durst speak for him. The other, that they had not sufficient proof to condemn him upon any particular with which he stood charged, but only for the delivery of the commission to Stapely; and that there was to that point, besides Stapely, one colonel Malory, whose testimony was more valued than the other's. This Malory had the reputation of an honest man, and loved Mr. Mordant very well, and

1858 was one of those who were principally trusted in the business of Sussex, and had been apprehended about the same [time] that Stapely was; and finding upon his first examination¹, by the questions which were administered to him by Thurlow, that all was discovered, he unwarily confessed all that he knew concerning Mr. Mordant, having been himself the person principally employed between him and Stapely; and was brought in custody from the Tower to give in evidence against Mr. Mordant, with an intention, after he had done that good service, to proceed as strictly against him, though they promised him indemnity.

97. The lady, having clear information of this whole matter, could not find any way that night to advertise her husband that he should no more insist upon the want of jurisdiction in the court; for there was no possibility of speaking with or sending to him during the time of his trial. Therefore she laid aside the thoughts of that business till the morning, and spent the night in contriving how Malory might be prevailed with to make an escape; and was so dexterous and so fortunate, that a friend of his disposed the money she gave him so effectually, that the next morning, when he [Malory] was brought to the hall to be ready to give in his evidence, he found some way to withdraw from his guard, and when he was in the crowd he easily got abroad².

98. She had as good fortune likewise to have a little note she writ concerning the other advice put into [her husband's³] hand as he passed to the bar; and having perused it, he departed from his former resolution; and after he had modestly urged the same again which he had done the day before, to spend time, and the president in more choler answering as he had done, he submitted to his trial, and behaved himself with courage, and easily evaded the greatest part of the evidence they had against him; nor could they find proof, what presumption soever there might be, that he

¹ [On his second examination before major gen. Goffe and Henry Scobell, 21 April. At his first examination on 14 April, he informed chiefly against Dr. Hewett, and did not mention Mordaunt. Thurlow's *S. P.*, vii. 74, 88.]

² [Thurlow's *S. P.*, vii. 220.]

³ ['his,' MS.]

had spoken with the marquis of Ormonde; and he evaded many other particulars of his correspondence with the King with notable address. That of the commission to Stapely was reserved to the last; and the commission being produced, and both the hand and the signet generally known, by reason of so many of the like which had fallen into their hands at Worcester and by many other accidents, Mr. Stapely was called to declare where he had it; and seeing himself confronted by Mr. Mordant, though he did, after many questions and reproaches from the counsel that prosecuted, at last confess that he did receive it from Mr. Mordant, he did it in so disorderly and confused a manner, that it appeared that he had much rather not have said it, and answered the questions Mr. Mordant asked him with that confusion that his evidence could not be satisfactory to any impartial judges. And then Malory was called for, but by no search could be found; so that they could not by their own rules defer their sentence. And it so fell out that the court was divided, one half for the condemning him, and the other half that he was not guilty; whereupon the determination depended upon the single vote of the president, who made some excuses for the justice he was about to do, and acknowledged many obligations to the mother of the prisoner, and in contemplation thereof pronounced him innocent for aught appeared to June 2. the court. There was not in Cromwell's time the like instance, and scarce any other man escaped the judgment that was tried before any high court of justice. And he was so offended at it, that, contrary to all the forms used by themselves, he caused him to be kept many months after in the Tower, whereas he ought to have been released the same moment, and would willingly have brought him to be tried again. For within a day or two after, Malory was retaken², and they had likewise corrupted a Frenchman, who had long served him, and was the only servant whom he had made choice of (since he was to be

¹ [*Mercur. Polit.*, No. 419, p. 578; committed to the Tower June 5, Thurloe's *S. P.*, vii. 622.]

² [He was condemned to be executed on June 18, but was reprieved on June 17; *Mercur. Polit.*, No. 421, p. 621. He was still in the Tower in close confinement on Feb. 24, 1658; Thurloe's *S. P.*, vii. 622.]

1658 allowed but one) to attend him in the prison, and who had discovered enough to have taken away his life several ways. But the scandal was so great, and the case unheard of, that any man discharged upon a public trial should be again proceeded against upon new evidence for the same offence, that Cromwell himself thought not fit to undergo the reproach of it, but was in the end prevailed with to set him at liberty. And he was very few days at liberty before he embarked himself as frankly in the King's service as before, and with better success.

99. Sir Harry Slingsby and poor Dr. Hewett had worse fortune; and their blood was the more thirsted after for the other's indemnity; and the court was too severely reprehended, to commit the same fault again. The former had lain two years in prison in Hull, and was brought now up to the Tower, for fear they might not discover enough of any new plot to make so many formidable examples as the present conjuncture required. They had against him evidence enough, (besides his incorrigible fidelity to the Crown from the first assaulting it,) that he had contrived and contracted with some officers of Hull, about the time that the earl of Rochester had been in Yorkshire, two years before, for the delivery of one of the block-houses to him for the King's service¹; nor did he care to defend himself against the accusation, but rather acknowledged and justified his affection, and owned his loyalty to the King, with very little compliment or ceremony to the present power. The other, Dr. Hewett, receiving no information of Mr. Mordant's declining the way formerly resolved upon, (which was not possible to convey to him in that instant, nobody being suffered to speak with him,) and being brought to the bar as soon as the other was removed from it, he persisted in the same resolution, and spake only against the illegality of the court; which upon better information, and before the judgment was pronounced against him, he desired to retract, and would have put himself upon his trial; but they then refused to admit him; and so sentence June 2. of death was pronounced against them both, which they both June 8. underwent with great Christian courage.

¹ [in Feb.-Apr. of the same year, 1658. *Thurloe's S. P.*, vii. 121-3.]

100. Sir H. Slingsby, as is said before, was in the first rank 1658 of the gentlemen of Yorkshire, and was returned to serve as a member in the Parliament that continued so many years, where he sat till the troubles began; and having no relation to or dependence upon the Court, he was swayed only by his conscience to detest their violent and undutiful behaviour. He was a gentleman of a good understanding, but of a very melancholic nature, and of very few words; and when he could stay no longer with a good conscience in their counsels, in which he never concurred, he went into his country, and joined with the first who took up arms for the King. And when the war was ended, he remained still in his own house, prepared and disposed to run the fortune of the Crown in any other attempt: and having a good fortune and a general reputation, had a greater influence upon the people than they who talked more and louder, and was known to be irreconcilable¹ to the new government; and therefore was cut off, notwithstanding very great intercession to preserve him; for he was uncle to the lord Falconbridge, who engaged his wife and all his new allies to intercede for him, without effect. And when he was brought to die, he spent very little time in discourse, but told them he was to die for being an honest man, of which he was very glad.

101. Dr. Hewett was born a gentleman, and bred a scholar, and was a divine before the beginning of the troubles. He lived in Oxford and in the army till the end of the war, and continued afterwards to preach with great applause in a little church in London², where by the affection of the parish he was admitted, since he was enough known to lie notoriously under the brand of malignity. When the lord Falconbridge married Cromwell's daughter (who had used secretly to frequent his church) after the ceremony of the time, he was made choice of to marry them according to the order of the Church; which engaged both that lord and lady to use their utmost credit with the Protector to preserve his life; but he was inexorable, and desirous that the churchmen, upon whom he looked as his mortal enemies,

¹ ['irreconcilable,' MS.]

² [St. Gregory's.]

1658 should see what they were to trust to, if they stood in need of his mercy.

102. It was then believed that if he had pleaded he might have been quitted, since in truth he never had been with the King at Cullen or Bruges, with which he was charged in his impeachment. And they had blood enough in their power to pour out; for besides the two before mentioned, to whom they granted the favour to be beheaded, there were three others, colonel Ashton, Stacy, and Bettely, who were condemned by the same court, who were treated with more severity, and were hanged, drawn, and quartered, with the utmost rigour, in several great streets in the city¹, to make the deeper impression upon the people, the two last being citizens. But all men appeared so nauseated with blood, and so tired with those abominable spectacles, that Cromwell thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemned, or rather to [reprieve²] them; amongst whom Malory was one, who was not at liberty till the King's return, and was more troubled for the weakness he had been guilty of than they were against whom he had trespassed.

103. Though the King and all who were faithful to him were exceedingly afflicted with this bloody proceeding, yet Cromwell did not seem to be the more confirmed in his tyranny. It is true the King's party was the more dispirited, but he [Cromwell] found another kind of enemy much more dangerous than that, and that knew better how to deal with him in his own way. They who were raised by him, and who had raised him, even the whole body of sectaries, Anabaptists, Independents, Quakers, declared an implacable hatred against him; and whilst they contrived how to raise a power to contend with him, they likewise entered into several conspiracies to assassinate him, which¹⁶⁵⁶ he exceedingly apprehended. They sent an address to the King
July. by one of their party, a young gentleman of an honourable extraction and great parts³, by whom they made many extravagant propositions, and seemed to depend very much upon the

¹ [Ashton in Tower Street on July 2, Bettley in Cheapside the same day, and Stacy in Cornhill on July 4.]

² ['reprove,' MS.]

³ [William Howard.]

death of Cromwell, and thereupon to compute their own power 1656 to serve the King; who gave such an answer only to them as might dispose them to hope for his favour if he received service July 14. from them, and to believe that he did not intend to persecute or trouble any men for their opinions if their actions were peaceable; which they pretended to affect.

104¹. Since the spirit, humour, and language of that people, and in truth of that time, cannot be better described and represented than by that petition and address, which was never published, [and²] of which there remains no other copy in any hand than that original which was presented to the King, (it being too dangerous á thing for any man who remained in England to have any such transcript in his custody,) it will not be amiss in this place to insert that petition and address in the very words in which it was presented to his majesty, with the letter that accompanied it from that gentleman who is mentioned before, who was an Anabaptist of special trust amongst them, and who came not with the petition, but expected the King's pleasure upon the reception of it; it being sent by an officer who had served the King in an eminent command, and was now gracious amongst them without swerving in the least degree from his former principles and integrity: for that people always pretended a just esteem and value of all men who had faithfully adhered to the King, and lived soberly and virtuously. The address was in these words³:

105. *'To his most excellent majesty, Charles the Second, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.*

'The humble address of the subscribers, in the behalf of themselves, and many thousands more, your majesty's most humble and faithful subjects.

'May it please your majesty,

106. *'When we sit down and recount the wonderful and unheard of dispensations of God amongst us, when we call to our remembrances the*

¹ [§ 104 is from the *Hist.*, p. 31.]

² ['nor,' MS.]

³ [The address is not given in the MS. of the *Hist.*, but is here taken from a copy preserved amongst Clarendon's MSS., which is described in the *Calendar*, vol. iii. p. 145. There is a separate slip, with a copy, as it seems, of the full heading, which after the word 'faithful' proceeds thus—'though despised (because sometimes deluded) subjects, characterized by the name of Sectarists.']

1656 tragical actions and transactions of these late times, when we seriously consider the dark and mysterious effects of Providence, the unexpected disappointments of counsels, the strange and strong convulsions of State, the various and violent motions and commotions of the people, the many changings, turnings, and overturnings of governors and governments, which in the revolutions of a few years have been produced in this land of miracles, we cannot but be even swallowed up in astonishment, and are constrained to command an (unwilling) silence upon our (sometimes mutinous and over-inquiring) hearts, resolving all into the good-will and pleasure of that all-disposing One, whose wisdom is unsearchable, and whose ways are past finding out.

107. 'But although it is (and we hope ever will be) far from us, either peevishly or presumptuously to kick against the irresistible decrees of Heaven, and vainly to attempt by any faint and infirm designs of ours to give an interruption to that overruling divine hand, which steers, guides, governs and determines the affairs of the whole world, yet we cannot but judge it a duty highly incumbent upon us, to endeavour, as much as in us lies, to repair the breaches of our dear country. And since it is our lot (we may say our unhappiness) to be embarked in a shipwrecked common-wealth, (which like a poor weatherbeaten pinnace has for so long a time been tossed upon the waves and billows of faction, split upon the rocks of violence, and is now almost quite devoured in the quicksands of ambition,) what can we do more worthy of Englishmen, as we are by nation, or of Christians, as we are by profession, than every one of us to put our hand to an oar, and try if it be the will of our God that such weak instruments as we may be in any measure helpful to bring it at last into the safe and quiet harbour of justice and righteousness?

108. 'To this undertaking (though too great for us) we are apt to think ourselves so much the more strongly engaged by how much the more we are sensible, that as our sins have been the greatest causes, so our many follies and imprudences have not been the least means, of giving both birth and growth to those many miseries and calamities which we, together with three once most flourishing kingdoms, do at this day sadly groan under.

109. 'It is not (the Lord knows), it is not pleasing unto us, nor can we believe it will be grateful to your majesty, that we should recur to the beginnings, rise, and root of the late unhappy differences betwixt your royal father and the Parliament. In such a discourse as this, we may seem, perhaps, rather to go about to make the wounds bleed afresh than to endeavour the curing of them: yet, forasmuch as we do profess that we come not with corrosives but with balsams, and that our desire is not to hurt but heal, not to pour vinegar but oil into the wounds, we hope your majesty will give us leave to open them gently, that we may apply remedies the more aptly, and discover our own past errors the more clearly.

110. 'In what posture the affairs of these nations stood, before the noise of drums and trumpets disturbed that sweet harmony that was amongst us, is not unknown to your majesty. That we were blest with a long peace, and (together with it) with riches, wealth, plenty, and abundance of all things, the lovely companions and beautiful products of peace, must ever be acknowledged with thankfulness to God the author of it, and with a

grateful veneration of the memory of those princes, your father and grand- 1656
 father, by the propitious influence of whose care and wisdom we thus
 flourished. But as it is observed in natural bodies, idleness and fulness of
 diet do for the most part lay the foundation of those maladies, and secretly
 nourish those diseases, which can hardly be expelled by the assistance of
 the most skilful physician, and seldom without the use of the most loath-
 some medicines, nay, sometimes not without the hazardous trial of the
 most dangerous experiments; so did we find it, by sad experience, to be in
 this great body politic. It cannot be denied but the whole commonwealth
 was faint, the whole nation sick, the whole body out of order, every mem-
 ber thereof feeble, and every part thereof languishing. And in this so
 general and universal a distemper, that there should be no weakness nor
 infirmity, no unsoundness, in the head, cannot well be imagined. We are
 unwilling to enumerate particulars, the mention whereof would but renew
 old griefs; but in general we may say, (and we think it will gain the easy
 assent of all men,) that there were many errors, many defects, many
 excesses, many irregularities, many illegal and eccentric proceedings,
 (some of which were in matters of the highest and greatest concernments,)
 manifestly appearing as blots and stains upon the otherwise good govern-
 ment of the late King. That these proceeded from the pravity of his own
 disposition, or from principles of tyranny radicated and implanted in his
 own nature, we do not see how it can be asserted without apparent injury
 to the truth; it being confessed, even by his most peevish enemies, that he
 was a gentleman, as of the most strong and perfect intellectuals, so of the
 best and purest morals, of any prince that ever swayed the English sceptre.
 This the then Parliament being sensible of, and desirous out of a zeal they
 had to the honour of their sovereign to disperse and dispel those black
 clouds that were contracted about him, that he might shine the more
 gloriously in the beauty of his own lustre, thought themselves engaged in
 duty to endeavour to redeem and rescue him from the violent and strong
 impulses of his evil counsellors, who did captivate him at their pleasures to
 their own corrupt lusts, and did every day thrust him into actions preju-
 dicial to himself and destructive to the common good and safety of the
 people.

111. 'Upon this account, and to this, and no other, end, were we at first
 invited to take up arms; and though we have too great cause to conclude
 (from what we have since seen acted) that under those plausible and gilded
 pretences of liberty and reformation, there were secretly managed the
 hellish designs of wicked, vile, and ambitious persons, (whom, though then,
 and for a long time after, concealed, Providence and the series of things
 have since discovered to us,) yet we bless God, that we went out in the
 simplicity of our souls, aiming at nothing more but what was publicly
 owned in the face of the sun; and that we were so far from entertaining
 any thoughts of casting off our allegiance to his majesty, or extirpating his
 family, that we had not the least intentions of so much as abridging him
 of any of his just prerogatives, but only of restraining those excesses of
 government for the future which were nothing but the excrescences of a
 wanton power, and were more truly to be accounted the burthens than
 ornaments of his royal diadem.

1656 112. 'These things, sir, we are bold to make recital of to your majesty; not that we suppose your majesty to be ignorant of them, or that we take delight to derive the pedigree of our own and the nation's misfortunes; but, like poor wildered travellers, perceiving that we have lost our way, we are necessitated (though with tired and irksome steps) thus to walk the same ground over again, that we may discover where it was that we first turned aside, and may institute a more prosperous course in the progress of our journey. Thus far we can say we have gone right, keeping the road of honesty and sincerity, and having (as yet) done nothing but what we think we are able to justify, not by those weak and beggarly arguments, drawn either from success, (which is the same to the just and to the unjust,) or from the silence and satisfaction of a becalmed conscience, (which is more often the effect of blindness than virtue,) but from the sure, safe, sound, and unerring maxims of law, justice, reason, and righteousness.

113. 'In all the rest of our motions, ever since to this very day, we must confess we have been wandering, deviating, and roving up and down, this way and that way, through all the dangerous, uncout, and untrodden paths of fanatic and enthusiastic notions, till now at last, but too late, we find ourselves intricately and involved in so many windings, labyrinths, and meanders of knavery, that nothing but a divine clue of thread, handed to us from heaven can be sufficient to extricate us and restore us. We know not, we know not¹, whether we have juster matter of shame or sorrow administered to us, when we take a reflexed view of our past actions, and consider into the commission of what crimes, impieties, wickednesses, and unheard of villainies, we have been led, cheated, cozened, and betrayed, by that grand impostor, that loathsome hypocrite, that detestable traitor, that prodigy of nature, that opprobrium of mankind, that landscape² of iniquity, that sink of sin, and that compendium of baseness, who now calls himself our Protector. What have we done, nay, what have we not done, which either hellish policy was able to contrive, or brutish power to execute? We have trampled underfoot all authorities; we have laid violent hands upon our sovereign; we have ravished our parliaments; we have deflowered the virgin liberties of our nation; we have put a yoke (an heavy yoke) of iron upon the necks of our own countrymen; we have thrown down the walls and bulwarks of the people's safety; we have broken often-repeated oaths, vows, engagements, covenants, protestations; we have betrayed our trusts; we have violated our faiths; we have lifted up our hands to Heaven deceitfully; and that these our sins might want no aggravation to make them exceeding sinful, we have added hypocrisy to them all, and have not only, like that audacious strumpet, wiped our mouths, and boasted that we have done no evil³, but in the midst of all our abominations (such as are too bad to be named amongst the worst of heathens) we have not wanted impudence enough to say, Let the Lord be glorified, let Jesus Christ be exalted, let his kingdom be advanced, let the gospel be propagated, let the saints be dignified, let righteousness be established!

Pudet hæc opprobra nobis

Aut dici potuisse, aut non potuisse refelli⁴.

¹ [The repeated words are crossed out in the MS. copy.]

² ['lantskip', MS.] ³ [Prov. xxx. 20.] ⁴ [Ovid, *Metam.* I. 658-9.].

114. 'Will not the Holy One of Israel visit? will not the Righteous One 1656 punish? will not he who is the true and faithful One be avenged for such things as these? will he not, nay has he not already, come forth as a swift witness against us? has he not whet his sword? has he not bent his bow? has he not prepared his quiver? has he not already begun to shoot his arrows at us? Who is so blind as not to see that the hand of the Almighty is upon us, and that his anger waxes hotter and hotter against us? How have our hopes been blasted! how have our expectations been disappointed! how have our ends been frustrated! All those pleasant gourds under which we were sometimes solacing and caressing ourselves, how are they perished in a moment! how are they withered in a night! how are they vanished, and come to nothing! Righteous is the Lord, and righteous are all his judgments. We have sown the wind, and we have reaped a whirlwind; we have sown faction, and we have reaped confusion; we have sown folly, and we have reaped deceit: when we looked for liberty, behold slavery! when we expected righteousness, behold oppression! when we sought for justice, behold a cry, a great and a lamentable cry throughout the whole nation!

115. 'Every man's hand is upon his loins, every one complaining, sighing, mourning, lamenting, and saying, I am pained, I am pained, pain and anguish and sorrow, and perplexity of spirit, has taken hold upon me, like the pains of a woman in travail. Surely we may take up the lamentation of the prophet concerning this the land of our nativity: "How does England sit solitary! how is she become as a widow! she that was great amongst the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she now become tributary! She weepeth sore in the night; her tears are on her cheeks; amongst all her lovers she hath none to comfort her; all her friends have dealt treacherously with her, they are become her enemies." She lifteth up her voice in the streets, she crieth aloud in the gates of the city, in the places of chief concourse she sitteth, and thus we hear her wailing and bemoaning her condition; "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger. The yoke of my transgressions is bound by his hands, they are wreathed, and come up upon my neck; he hath made my strength to fall, the Lord hath delivered me into their hands from whom I am not able to rise up. The Lord hath trodden underfoot all my mighty men in the midst of me; he hath called an assembly to crush my young men; he hath trodden me as in a winepress; all that pass by clap their hands at me, they hiss, and wag their heads at me, saying, Is this the nation that men call the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth? All mine enemies have opened their mouths against me, they hiss and gnash their teeth; they say, We have swallowed her up; certainly this is the day that we looked for, we have found, we have seen it."

116. 'How are our bowels troubled! how are our hearts saddened! how are our souls afflicted, whilst we hear the groans, whilst we see the desolation, of our dear country! It pitieth us, it pitieth us, that Sion should lie any longer in the dust! But, alas! what shall we do for her in this day of her great calamity? We were sometimes wise to pul down, but we

1656 (now) want art to build; we were ingenious to pluck up, but we have no skill to plant; we were strong to destroy, but we are weak to restore. Whither shall we go for help? or to whom shall we address ourselves for relief? If we say, We will have recourse to Parliaments, and they shall save us; behold, they are broken reeds, reeds shaken with the wind, they cannot save themselves. If we turn to the army, and say, They are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, it may be they will at last have pity upon us, and deliver us; behold, they are become as a rod of iron to bruise us, rather than a staff of strength to support us. If we go to him who had treacherously usurped, and does tyrannically exercise, an unjust power over us, and say to him, Free us from this yoke, for it oppresseth us, and from these burdens, for they are heavier than either we are, or our fathers ever were, able to bear; behold, in the pride and haughtiness of his spirit, he answers us, You are factious, you are factious; if your burthens are heavy, I will make them yet heavier; if I have hitherto chastised you with whips, I will henceforward chastise you with scorpions.

117. 'Thus do we fly, like partridges hunted, from hill to hill, and from mountain to mountain, but can find no rest; we look this way and that way, but there is none to save, none to deliver. At last we began to whisper, (and but to whisper only,) amongst ourselves, saying one to another, Why should we not return to our first husband? surely it will be better with us then than it is now. At the first starting of this question amongst us, many doubts, many fears, many jealousies, many suspicions, did arise within us. We were conscious to ourselves that we had dealt unkindly with him, that we had treacherously forsaken him, that we had defiled ourselves with other lovers, and that our filthiness was still upon our skirts: therefore were we apt to conclude, if we do return unto him, how can he receive us? or if he does receive us, how can he love us? how can he pardon the injuries we have done unto him? how can he forget the unkindness we have shewn unto him in the day of his distress?

118. 'We must confess (for we come not to deceive your majesty, but to speak the truth in simplicity) that these cowardly apprehensions did for a while make some strong impressions upon us, and had almost frightened us out of our newly conceived thoughts of duty and loyalty. But it was not long before they vanished, and gave place to the more noble and heroic considerations of common good, public safety, the honour, peace, welfare, and prosperity, of these nations; all which we are persuaded, and do find, (though by too late experience,) are as inseparably and as naturally bound up in your majesty as heat in fire or light in the sun. Contemning therefore and disdaining the mean and low thoughts of our own private safety, (which we have no cause to despair of, having to deal with so good and so gracious a prince,) we durst not allow of any longer debate about matters of personal concernment; but did think ourselves engaged in duty, honour, and conscience, to make this our humble address unto your majesty, and to leave ourselves at the feet of your mercy: yet, lest we should seem to be altogether negligent of that first good, though since dishonoured, cause, which God has so eminently owned us in, and to be unmindful of the security of those who (together with ourselves), being carried away with

the delusive and hypocritical pretences of wicked and ungodly men, have 1656 ignorantly (not maliciously) been drawn into a concurrence with those actions which may render them justly obnoxious to your majesty's indignation, we have presumed in all humility to offer unto your majesty these few propositions hereunto annexed; to which if your majesty shall be pleased graciously to condescend, we do solemnly protest in the presence of Almighty God, (before whose tribunal we know we must one day appear,) that we will hazard our lives, and all that is dear unto us, for the restoring and re-establishing your majesty in the throne of your fathers; and that we will never be wanting in a ready and willing compliance to your majesty's commands to approve ourselves

'Your majesty's

'most humble, most faithful, and most devoted

'subjects and servants,

'W. Howard.

Ralph Jennings.

Edward Penkaruan.

John Hedworth.

John Sturgeson.

John Wildman.

John Aumigeu.

Randolph Hedworth.

Thomas ———¹.

Richard Reynolds.

119. 'The earnest desires of the subscribers, in all humility presented to your majesty in these following proposals, in order to an happy, speedy, and well grounded peace in these your majesty's dominions.

1. 'Forasmuch as the Parliament called and convened by the authority of his late majesty your royal father in the year 1640 was never legally dissolved, but did continue their sitting until the year 1648, at which time the army, violently and treasonably breaking in upon them, did and has ever since given a continued interruption to their session, by taking [away] the whole House of Lords, and secluding the greatest part of the House of Commons; it is therefore humbly desired, that (to the end we may be established upon the ancient basis and foundation of law) your majesty would be pleased by public proclamations, as soon as it shall be judged seasonable, to invite all those persons, as well Lords as Commons, who were then sitting, to return to their places; and that your majesty would own them (so convened and met together) to be the true and lawful Parliament of England.

2. 'That your majesty would concur with the Parliament in the ratification and confirmation of all those things granted and agreed unto by the late King your father, at the last and fatal treaty in the Isle of Wight; as also in the making and repealing of all such laws, acts, and statutes, as by the Parliament shall be judged expedient and necessary to be made and repealed for the better securing of the just and natural rights and liberties of the people, and for the obviating and preventing all dangerous and destructive excesses of government for the future.

3. 'Forasmuch as it cannot be [denied¹] but that our Lord and Saviour

¹ [blank in MS.]

² ['desired,' MS.]

1656 Jesus Christ by his death and resurrection has purchased the liberties of his own people, and is thereby become their sole Lord and King, to whom, and to whom only, they owe obedience in things spiritual; we do therefore humbly beseech your majesty, that you would engage your royal word never to erect, nor suffer to be erected, any such tyrannical, Popish, and Antichristian hierarchy, (Episcopal, Presbyterian, or by what name soever it be called,) as shall assume a power over, or impose a yoke upon, the consciences of others; but that every one of your majesty's subjects may hereafter be left at liberty to worship God in such a way, form, and manner, as shall appear to them to be agreeable to the mind and will of Christ, revealed in his word, according to that proportion or measure of faith and knowledge which they have received.

4. 'Forasmuch as the exaction of tithes is a burden under which the whole nation groans in general, and the people of God in particular, we would therefore crave leave humbly to offer it to your majesty's consideration, that (if it be possible) some other way may be found out for the maintenance of that which is called the national ministry; and that those of the separated and congregated churches may not (as hitherto they have been, and still are,) be compelled to contribute thereunto.'

5. 'Forasmuch as in these times of license, confusion, and disorder, many honest, godly, and religious persons, by the crafty devices and cunning pretences of wicked men, have been ignorantly and blindly led either into the commission of or compliance with many vile, illegal, and abominable actions, whereof they are now ashamed; we do therefore most humbly implore your majesty, that an Act of amnesty and oblivion may be granted for the pardoning, acquitting, and discharging, all your majesty's long deceived and deluded subjects from the guilt and imputation of all crimes, treasons, and offences whatsoever, committed or done by them, or any of them, either against your majesty's father or yourself, since the beginning of these unhappy wars, excepting only such who do adhere to that ugly¹ tyrant who calls himself Protector, or who, in justification of his or any other interest, shall, after the publication of this Act of grace, continue and persevere in their disloyalty to your majesty.'

120. The gentleman who brought this address and these wild propositions, brought likewise with him a particular letter to the King from the gentleman that is before described; upon whose temper, ingenuity, and interest, the messenger principally depended, having had much acquaintance and conversation with him; who, though he was an Anabaptist, made himself merry with the extravagancy and madness of his companions, and told this gentleman that though the first address could not be prepared but with those demands which might satisfy the whole party, and comprehend all that was desired by any of them, yet

¹ ['oughly,' MS.]

if the King gave them such an encouragement as might dispose 1658 them to send some of the wisest of them to attend his majesty, he would be able, upon conference with them, to make them his instruments to reduce the rest to more moderate desires, when they should discern that they might have more protection and security from the King than from any other power that would assume the government. The letter was as followeth :

121. ' May it please your majesty,

' Time, the great discoverer of all things, has (at last) unmasked the disguised designs of this mysterious age, and made that obvious to the dull sense of fools which was before visible enough to the quicksighted prudence of wise men, viz. that liberty, religion, and reformation, (the wonted engines of politicians,) are but deceitful baits, by which the easily deluded multitude are tempted to a greedy pursuit of their own ruin. In the unhappy number of these fools, I must confess myself to have been one ; who have nothing more now to boast of, but only that, as I was not the first was cheated, so I was not the last was undeceived ; having long since, by peeping a little (now and then, as I had opportunity) under the vizard of the impostor, got such glimpses, though but imperfect ones, of his ugly ¹ face, concealed under the painted pretences of sanctity, as made me conclude that the series of affairs, and the revolution of a few years, would convince this blinded generation of their errors, and make them affrightedly to start from him, as a prodigious piece of deformity, whom they adored and revered as the beautiful image of a deity.

122. ' Nor did this my expectation fail me. God, who glories in no attribute more than to be acknowledged the searcher of the inward parts, could no longer endure the bold affronts of this audacious hypocrite ; but, (to the astonishment and confusion of all his idolatrous worshippers,) has, by the unsearchable wisdom of his deep-laid counsels, lighted such a candle into the dark dungeon of his soul, that there is none so blind who does not plainly read treachery, tyranny, perfidiousness, dissimulation, atheism, hypocrisy, and all manner of villainy, written in large characters on his heart ; nor is there any one remaining who dares open his mouth in justification of him, for fear of incurring the deserved character of being a professed advocate for all wickedness, and a sworn enemy to all virtue.

123. ' This was no sooner brought forth, but presently I conceived hopes of being able in a short time to put in practice those thoughts of loyalty to your majesty, which had long had entertainment in my breast, but till now were forced to seek concealment under a seeming conformity to the iniquity of the times. A fit opportunity of giving birth to these designs was happily administered by the following occasion.

124. ' Great was the rage, and just the indignation, of the people, when they first found the authority of their Parliament swallowed up in the new name of a Protector ; greater was their fury, (and upon better grounds,

¹ ['oughly,' MS.]

1656 when they observed that under the silent, modest, and flattering, title of this Protector, was secretly assumed a power more absolute, more arbitrary, more unlimited, than ever was pretended to by any king. The pulpits straightways sound with declamations, the streets are filled with pasquils and libels, every one expresses a detestation of this innovation by public invectives, and all the nation with one accord seems at once to be inspired with one and the same resolution of endeavouring valiantly to redeem that liberty by arms and force which was treacherously stolen from them by deceit and fraud.

125. 'When they had for a while exercised themselves in tumultuary discourses, (the first effects of popular discontents,) at length they begin to contrive by what means to free themselves from the yoke that is upon them. In order hereunto, several of the chiefest of the malecontents enter into consultations amongst themselves, to which they were pleased to invite and admit me. Being taken into their counsels, and made privy to their debates, I thought it my work to acquaint myself fully with the tempers, inclinations, dispositions, and principles, of them; which (though all meeting and centering in an irreconcilable hatred and animosity against the usurper) I find so various in their ends, and so contrary in the means conducing to those ends, that they do naturally fall under the distinction of different parties. Some, drunk with enthusiasms and besotted with fanatic notions, do allow of none to have a share in government besides the saints; and these are called Christian Royalists, or Fifth Monarchy men. Others, violently opposing this as destructive to the liberty of the free-born people, strongly contend to have the nation governed by a continual succession of parliaments, consisting of equal representatives; and these style themselves Commonwealth's men. A third party there is, who, finding by the observation of these times that parliaments are better physic than food, seem to incline most to monarchy, if laid under such restrictions as might free the people from the fear of tyranny; and these are contented to suffer under the opprobrious name of Levellers. To these did I particularly apply myself, and, after some few days' conference with them in private by themselves apart, I was so happy in my endeavours as to prevail with some of them to lay aside those vain and idle prejudices, grounded rather upon passion than judgment, and to return, as their duty engaged them, to their obedience to your majesty. Having proceeded thus far, and gained as many of the chief of them (whom I knew to be leaders of the rest) as could safely be intrusted with a business of this nature, (the success whereof does principally depend upon the secret management of it,) I thought I had nothing more now to do but only to confirm and establish them (as well as I could) in this their infant allegiance, by engaging them so far in an humble address unto your majesty that they might not know how to make either a safe or honourable retreat.

126. 'I must leave it to the ingenuity of this worthy gentleman by whose hands it is conveyed, to make answer to any such objections as may perhaps be made by your majesty, either as to the matter or manner of it. This only I would put your majesty in mind of, that they are but young proselytes, and are to be driven *lento pede*, lest being urged at first too violently they should resist the more refractorily.

127. 'As to the quality of the persons, I cannot say they are either of 1656 great families or great estates. But this I am confident of, that (whether it be by their own virtue, or by the misfortune of [the] times, I will not determine,) they are such who may be more serviceable to your majesty in this juncture than those whose names swell much bigger than theirs with the addition of great titles. I durst not undertake to persuade your majesty to any thing, being ignorant by what maxims your counsels are governed; but this I shall crave leave to say, that I have often observed that a desperate game at chess has been recovered, after the loss of the nobility, only by playing the pawns well; and that the subscribers may not be of the same use to your majesty, if well managed, I cannot despair, especially at such a time as this, when there is scarce any thing but pawns left upon the board, and those few others that are left may justly be complained of in the words of Tacitus, *præsentia et tuta, quam vetera et periculosa, malunt omnes*¹.

128. 'I have many things more to offer unto your majesty, but, fearing I have already given too bold a trouble, I shall defer the mention of them at present; intending, as soon as I hear how your majesty resents this overture, to wait upon your majesty in person, and then to communicate that *viva voce* which I cannot bring within the narrow compass of an address of this nature. In the mean time, if our services shall be judged useful to your majesty, I shall humbly desire some speedy course may be taken for the advance of £2000, as well for the answering the expectation of those whom I have already engaged as for the defraying of several other necessary expenses, which do, and will every day inevitably, come upon us in the prosecution of our design.

129. 'What more is expedient to be done by your majesty, in order to the encouragement and satisfaction of those gentlemen who already are, or hereafter may be, brought over to the assistance of your majesty's cause and interest, I shall commit to the care of this honourable person; who, being no stranger to the complexion and constitution of those with whom I have to deal, is able sufficiently to inform your majesty by what ways and means they may be laid under the strongest obligation to your majesty's service.

130. 'For my own part, as I do now aim at nothing more than only to give your majesty a small essay of my zeal for, and absolute devotion to, your majesty, so I have nothing more to beg of your majesty but that you would be pleased to account me,

'May it please your majesty,

'your majesty's most humble, most faithful, and most

'obedient (though most unworthy) subject and servant,

'W. Howard.'

131¹. The King believed that these distempers might in some conjuncture be of use to him, and therefore returned the general answer that is mentioned before, and that he would be

¹ ['*ceteri . . . tuta et præsentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent.*'
Ann. I. 2.]

² [This section is from the *Hist.*, p. 31.]

1656 willing to confer with some persons of that party, trusted by the rest, if they would come over to him; his majesty being then at Bruges¹. Upon which that young gentleman came over thither to him, and remained some days there concealed. He was a person of very extraordinary parts, sharpness of wit, readiness and volubility of tongue, and yet an Anabaptist. He had been bred in the university of Cambridge, and afterwards in the inns of court; but being too young to have known the religion or the government of the precedent time, and his father having been engaged from the beginning against the King, he had sucked in the opinions that were most prevalent, and had been a soldier in Cromwell's life-guard of horse, when he was thought to be most resolved to establish a republic. But when that masque was pulled off, he detested him with that rage that he was of the combination with those who resolved to destroy him by what way soever, and was very intimate with Syndercome. He had a great confidence of the strength and power of that party, and confessed that their demands were extravagant, and such as the King could not grant; which, after they were once engaged in blood, he doubted not they would recede from, by the credit the wiser men had amongst them. He returned very well satisfied with the King, and did afterward correspond very faithfully with his professions, but left the King without any hope of other benefit from that party than by their increasing the faction and animosity against Cromwell; for it was manifest they expected a good sum of present money from the King, which could not be in his power to supply.

132². In the mean time, the King found every day that the Spaniards so much despaired of his cause, that they had no mind to give him any assistance with which he might make an attempt upon England, and that, if they had been never so well disposed, they were not able to do it; and thereupon he resolved

¹ [A copy in the King's own hand of his reply to Howard, addressed under the name of W. Fisher, which is dated at Bruges, 14 July, 1656, is among the Clarendon MSS. See *Calend. Clar. S. P.*, iii. 146.]

² [*Life*, p. 544.]

that he would not in a country that was so great a scene of war ¹⁶⁵⁷ live unactive and unconcerned; and so he sent to don Juan, ¹⁶⁵⁷ that he would accompany him in the field the next *campania*, ^{May.} without expecting any ceremony, or putting him to any trouble. But they sent him a formal message, and employed the earl of Bristol, to excuse them from consenting, or admitting his proposition, and to dissuade his majesty from affecting so unreasonably exposing his person. They said that they could not answer it to his Catholic majesty, if they should permit his majesty, when his two brothers were already in the army, and known to affect danger so much as they did, likewise to engage his own royal person, which they positively protested against. And when they afterwards saw that it was not in their power to restrain him from adventures whilst he remained at Bruges, which was now become a frontier by the neighbourhood of Mardike, and that under pretence of visiting the duke of York, who lay then at Dunkirk to make some attempt in the winter upon that fort, his majesty, having notice what night they intended to assault it, went some days before to Dunkirk, and was present in that action, and so near that many were killed about him, ^{Oct. 22¹.} and the marquis of Ormonde, who was next to him, had his horse killed under him, they were willing his majesty should remove to Bruxells, which they would never before consent to, and which was in many respects most grateful to him. And so in the spring, and before the armies were in motion, he left Bruges, where he had received, both from the bishop and the magistrates, all possible respect, there being at that time a Spaniard, Mark Ogniate, burgomaster, who, being born of an English mother, had all imaginable duty for the King, and, being a man of excellent parts and very dexterous in business, was very serviceable to his majesty, which he ever afterwards acknowledged; and about the end of February, in the year, by that account, 1658, he went to Bruxells, and never after ^{March 8¹.} returned to Bruges.

¹ [*Mercur. Polit.*, No. 387, pp. 54-5.]

² [Letter from the earl of Bristol to Ormonde of that date; Carte MS. **xxx. f. 456.**]

1658 133. He was no sooner come thither, but don Alonso renewed his advices and importunity that he would make a conjunction with the Levellers; and to that purpose prevailed with him to admit their agent, one Sexby, to confer with him¹; which his majesty willingly consented to, presuming that he might be privy to the address that had been made to him by the same party; which he was not, though the other[s] well knew of his employment to the Spaniard, and had no mind to trust him to the King, at least not so soon. The man, [for²] an illiterate person, spake very well and properly, and used those words very well the true meaning and signification whereof he could not understand. He had been, in the beginning, a common soldier of Cromwell's troop, and afterwards was one of those Agitators who were made use of to control the Parliament; and had so great an interest in Cromwell that he was frequently his bedfellow, a familiarity he frequently admitted those to whom he employed in any great trust, and with whom he could not so freely converse as in those hours. He was very perfect in the history of Cromwell's dissimulations, and would describe his artifices to the life, and did very well understand the temper of the army and wonderfully undervalue the credit and interest of the King's party; and made such demands to the King, as if it were in his power, and his alone, to restore him; in which don Alonso concurred so totally, that when he saw that the King would not be advised by him, he sent his friend Sexby into Spain, to conclude there, and, upon the matter, wholly withdrew himself from so much as visiting the King. And there need not be any other character or description of the stupidity of that man, than that such a fellow, with the help of an Irish priest, should be able to cozen him, and make him to cozen his master, of ten thousand pistoles; for he received not less than that in Flanders, whatever else he

¹ [Sexby's negotiations with Spain and the King were before the time here spoken of; they extended from June 1655 to Dec. 1656. In the following year he was in England, and was committed to the Tower July 24, 1657, where he died Jan. 13, 1658. Many notices relating to him may be found in vol. iii. of *Calend. Clar. S. P.*]

² ['of,' MS.]

got by his journey to Madrid ; which did not use to be of small 1658 expense to the Spaniard.

134. Nothing that was to come could be more manifest, than it was to all discerning men that the first design the French army would undertake, when they should begin their *campania*, must be the siege of Dunkirk, without taking which, Mardike would do them little good : besides, their contract with Cromwell was no secret ; yet they [the Spaniards] totally neglected making provisions to defend it ; being persuaded, by some intelligence they always purchased at a great rate to deceive themselves, that the French would begin the *campania* with besieging Cambray. In the beginning of May the marquis de Leda, governor of Dunkirk, and the best officer they had in all respects, came to Bruxells, having sent several expressess thither to no purpose to solicit for supplies. He told them that his intelligence was infallible, that marshal Turyn was ready to march, and that the [French] King himself would be in the field to countenance the siege of Dunkirk, which he could not defend if he were not supplied with men, ammunition, and victual ; of all which he stood in great need, and of neither of which he could get supply ; they telling him that he would not be besieged, that they were sure the French meant to attempt Cambray, which they provided the best they could, and bad him be confident that if he were attacked they would relieve him with their army, and fight a battle before he should be in danger. And being able to procure no other answer, he returned, and came to take his leave of the King as he went out of the town, and complained very much to his majesty of their counsels, and deluding themselves with false intelligence. He said he was going to defend a town without men, without ammunition, and without victual, against a very strong and triumphant army ; that if he could have obtained supplies in any reasonable degree, he should have been able to have entertained them some time ; but in the condition he was in, he could only lose his life there, which he was resolved to do : and he spake as if he were very willing to do it, and was as good as his word.

1658 135. Within three or four days after his return, the French
 May 15, army appeared before it; and then the Spaniard believed it,
 N.S.¹ and made what haste they could to draw their army together,
 which was very much dispersed, so that before they were upon
 their march the French had perfected their circumvallation, and
 rendered it impossible to put any succours into the town. So
 June 3, that they now found it necessary indeed to hazard a battle,
 N.S. which they had promised to do when they intended nothing
 less. When they had taken a full view of the posture the
 enemy was in, and were thereupon to choose their own ground,
 upon which they would be found, don Juan and the marquis of
 Caracena, (who agreed in nothing else,) resolved how the army
 should be ranged; which the prince of Condé dissuaded them
 from, and told them very exactly what the marshal Turyn would
 do in that case, and that he would still maintain the siege, and
 give them likewise battle upon the advantage of the ground;
 whereas if they would place their army near another part of
 the line, they should easily have communication with the town,
 and compel the French to fight with more equal hazards.

136. It might very reasonably be said of the prince of Condé
 and marshal Turyn, what a good Roman historian² said hereto-
 fore of Jugurth[a] and Marius, that, *in iisdem castris didicere*
quæ postea in contrariis fecere; they had in the same armies
 learned that discipline and those stratagems which they after-
 wards practised against each other in enemy armies; and it
 was a wonderful and a pleasant thing to see and observe, in
 attacks or in marches, with what foresight either of them would
 declare what the other would do: as the prince of Condé, when
 the armies marched near, and the Spaniards would not alter
 their formal lazy pace, nor their rest at noon, would in choler
 tell them, 'If we do not make great haste to possess such a
 pass,' (which they never thought of,) 'marshal Turyn will take
 it, though it be much farther from him;' and would then,
 when they considered not what he said, advance with his own
 troops and possess the place, even when the French were come

¹ [Larrey, *Hist. de Louis XIV.*, 1721, iii. 34, 41.]

² [Vell. Paternulus, *Hist. Rom.* ii. 9, 'in iisdem—facient.']

in view ; and by such seasonable foresights saved the Spanish 1658
 army from many distresses. And marshal Turyn had the same
 caution, and governed himself as the prince of Condé was in the
 rear [or¹] van of the army, and, upon the matter, only con-
 sidered where he was, and ordered his marches accordingly ;
 of which there was a very memorable instance two years² before,
 when the Spanish army had besieged Arras, and when the duke
 of York was present with marshal Turyn. The Spaniards had
 made themselves so very strong, that when the French army
 came thither, they found that they could not compel them to
 fight, and that the town must be lost if they did not force the
 line. Marshal Turyn, accompanied with the duke of York,
 who would never be absent upon those occasions, and some of
 the principal officers, spent two or three days in viewing the
 line round, and observing and informing himself of all that was
 to be known, riding so near the line very frequently that some
 of his company were killed within much less than musket shot.
 In the end, he called some of the principal officers, and said he¹⁶⁵⁴
 would that day at noon assault the line at a place which he^{Aug. 25,}
 shewed to them ; which the officers wondered at, and said it^{N.S.}
 was the strongest part of the line, and that they had observed
 to him that the whole line on the other side was very much
 weaker : to which the marshal replied, ‘ You do not know who
 keeps that line ; we shall do no good there ; monsieur le prince
 never sleeps, and that is his post ; but I will tell you what will
 fall out on the other side ;’ for he had himself marched in the
 Spanish army, and very well understood the customs of it.
 He told them then, that it would be very long before the
 soldiers upon the line or the adjacent guard would believe that
 they were in earnest and that they would in truth at that time
 of the day assault them, but would think that they meant only
 to give them an alarum, which they were never warm in
 receiving : that when they [the Spaniards] were convinced
 that they [the French] were in earnest, in which time they
 should be got near their line, they would send to the count
 of Fuensaldagña, who was then asleep, and his servants would

¹ [‘ and,’ MS.]

² [four years.]

1659 not be persuaded to waken him in a moment. He would then send for his horse, and ride up to the line; which when he saw, he would with some haste repair to the archduke's tent, who was likewise at his *siesto*, and when he was awaked they would consult what was to be done; by which time, [the marshal] said, they should have done. And they did enter the line accordingly, and found by the prisoners that every thing had fallen out as the marshal foretold. And so the siege was raised, the Spaniards fled without making any resistance, left their cannon, bag and baggage, behind them: only the prince [of Condé] was in so good order upon the first alarm, that, when he heard of the confusion they were in, he drew off with his cannon, and lost nothing that belonged to him, and marched with all his men to a place of safety.

137. Notwithstanding the advice which the prince of Condé had given, don Juan was positive in his first resolution. And the prince, not without great indignation, consented, and drew up his troops in the place they desired; and quickly [saw¹] all
 June 14. N. S. come to pass that he had foretold. The country was most enclosed, so that the horse could not fight but in small bodies. The English foot under Lockhart charged the Spanish foot, and after a reasonable resistance broke and routed them; after which there was not much resistance on that side, the Spanish horse doing no better than their foot. The King's foot were placed by themselves upon a little rising ground, and were charged by the French horse after the Spanish foot were beaten. Some of them, and the greater part, marched off by the favour of the enclosures, there not being above two hundred taken prisoners. The dukes of York and Gloster charged several times on horseback, and in the end, having gotten some troops to go with them, charged the English, (though they were glad to see them behave themselves so well,) and with great difficulty, and some blows of muskets, got safe off. But there was a rumour spread in the French army that the duke of York was taken prisoner by the English, some men undertaking that they saw him in their hands: whereupon many of the officers

¹ ['foresaw,' MS.]

and gentlemen resolved to set him at liberty, and rode up to ¹⁶⁵⁸ the body of English; and looked upon all their prisoners, and found they were misinformed; which if they had not been, they would undoubtedly, at any hazard or danger, have enlarged him; so great an affection that nation owned to have for his highness.

138. The day being thus lost, with a greater rout and confusion than loss of men, don Juan and the marquis of Caracena, who behaved themselves in their own persons with courage enough, were contented to think better of the prince of Condé's advice, by which they preserved the best part of the army, and retired to Ipres and Furne[s], and the duke of York to Newport, that they might defend the rest when Dunkirk should be taken; which was the present business of marshal Turyn; who found the marquis de Leda resolved to defend it, notwithstanding the defeat of the army: and therefore he betook himself again to that work, as soon as the [Spanish] army was retired into fastness. The marquis de Leda, when he saw there was no more hope of relief from don Juan, which whilst he expected he was wary in the hazard of his men, now¹ was resolved to try what he could do for himself; and so, with as strong a party as he could make, he made a desperate sally ^{June 23.} upon the enemy, which, though he disordered, was quickly so ^{N.S.} seconded that they drove him back into the town with great loss, after himself had received his death's wound, which followed within three days after. And then the officers sent to treat, which he would not consent to whilst he lived. The marquis was a much greater loss than the town, which the master of the field will be always master of in two months' time at most. But in truth [the death of] the marquis was an irreparable damage, being a very wise man, of great experience, great wisdom, and great piety; insomuch as he had an intention to have taken orders in the Church, to which he was most devoted.

139. Those in the town had fair conditions to march to St. Omer's, that they might not join with the relics of their army.

¹ ['but now,' MS.]

1658 And the King of France, being by this time come to the camp with the cardinal, entered the town, and took possession of it
 June 25, himself; which as soon as he had done, he delivered it into the
 N.S.¹ hands of Lockhart, whom Cromwell had made governor of it.
 And so the treaty was performed between them; and the King
 May 20, went presently to Calice, and from thence sent the duke of
 N.S.² Crequy, together with Mancini, nephew to the cardinal, to
 London³, to visit Cromwell; who likewise sent his son-[in-law,]
 June 8, the lord Falconbridge, to Calice, to congratulate with the King
 N.S.⁴ for their joint prosperity. And so the mutual professions were
 renewed between them, with new obligations never to make
 peace without each other's consent.

140. When don Juan removed from Bruxells and the army marched into the field, the King renewed his desire that he might likewise go with them, but was refused with the same passion he had been before; and thereupon resolved that he would not stay alone in Bruxells whilst all the world was in action, but thought of some more private place, where he might take the summer air, and refresh himself during that season. And he was the more confirmed in this upon the news of the defeat of the army near Dunkirk, and the loss of that place. And so he removed to a village called Hochstrade, where there were very good houses, capable to have received a greater train
 Sept. than belonged to his Court. Thither the King went about the month of August, the village lying upon the skirts of the States' dominions in Brabant, and within five or six miles of Breda, and sometimes he made journeys *incognito* to see places where he had not been before.

141⁵. There a man might have observed the great difference of the condition which the subjects in the States' dominions,

¹ [*Mercur. Polit.*, No. 421, p. 620; June 26, Larrey, iii. 48. A letter written by Lockhart when in Dunkirk, and dated June 2, N.S., which is printed in Thurloe's *S. P.*, vii. 143, must be so dated by a mistake for July 2; but the date is distinctly written in the original MS.]

² [Larrey, iii. 36.]

³ [They arrived in London on June 11, and had audience the next day.]

⁴ [Falconbridge left London May 26, O.S.]

⁵ [*Hist.*, p. 31.]

even in the sight and view of the other, enjoy, above what their 1658 neighbours of the Spanish territories are acquainted with. Hochstrade is an open village, belonging to the count of that name, and hath enjoyed very ample privileges, the owner thereof being one of the greatest nobles in the duchy of Brabant. It is pleasantly seated, many very good houses, and the extent of the manor large, and of a great revenue. But by reason that it is always a horse-quarter in the winter season, who use great license, it is so poor that those good houses have only walls; so that the people had not furniture to supply those rooms which were for accommodation of those who attended the King, though they were sure to be very well paid, and therefore used all the means they could to procure it. But there appeared poverty in the faces and looks of the people, good grounds without any stock, and in a word, nothing that looked well but the houses, and those empty within. On the other side of a line that is drawn, (for a man may set one foot in the dominion that is reserved to the King of Spain, and the other in that which is assigned to the Hollander,) the houses, though not standing so thick, nor so beautiful without, clean, neat, and well furnished within; very good linen and some plate in every house; the people fat, well clothed, and with looks very well pleased; all the grounds and land fully stocked with all kind of cattle, and, as if it were the land of Goshen, the appearance of nothing but wealth and fertility, encompassed by wonderful barrenness and unconceivable poverty. And they on the Holland side, that lies equally open and undefended, can see the Spanish troops exercise all license upon their poor neighbours of Hochstrade; and yet the most dissolute amongst them dare not step into their quarters to take a hen, or commit the least trespass: so strictly the articles of the peace are observed.

142¹. Whilst the King spent his time in this manner, about the middle of September, the duke of York, who remained still with the troops at Newport to defend that place, as don Juan and the rest remained about Furnes and Bruges, sent an express Sept. 16,

¹ [*Life*, p. 547.]

1658 to the King to let him know that the letters from England, and some passengers, reported confidently that Cromwell was dead; [which¹], there having been no news of his sickness, was not at first easy to be believed. But every day brought confirmation of it; so that his majesty thought fit to give over his country life, and returned again to Bruxells, that he might be ready to make use of any advantage which in that conjuncture, upon so wonderful an alteration, he might reasonably expect.

143. It had been observed in England, that though from the dissolution of the last Parliament all things seemed to succeed at home and abroad to his wish, and his power and greatness to be better established than ever it had been, yet Cromwell never had the same serenity of mind he had been used to, after he had refused the crown, but was out of countenance, and chagrin², as if he were conscious of not having been true to himself, and much more apprehensive of danger to his person than he had used to be; insomuch as he was not so easy of access, nor so much seen abroad, and seemed to be in some disorder when his eyes found any stranger in the room, upon whom they were still fixed. When he intended to go to Hampton Court, which was his principal delight and diversion, it was never known till he was in the coach which way he would go; and was still hemmed in by his guards before and behind; and the coach in which he went was always thronged as full as it could be with his servants, who were armed; and he never returned the same way he went; and rarely lodged two nights together in one chamber, but had many furnished and prepared, to which his own key conveyed him, and those he would have with him, when he had a mind to go to bed: which made his fears the more taken notice of and public, because he had never been accustomed to those precautions.

144. It is very true he knew of many combinations to assassinate him, by those who he knew wished the King no good. And when he had discovered the design of Sindercome, who was a very stout man, and one who had been much in his favour, and who had twice or thrice by wonderful and unexpected

¹ ['whilst,' MS.]

² ['shaggringe,' MS.]

accidents been disappointed in the minute he made sure to kill 1658
 him, and [had] caused him to be apprehended, his behaviour was
 so resolute in his examination and trial as if he thought he 1657
 should still be able to do it; and it was manifest that he had Feb. 9.
 many more associates, who were undiscovered, and as resolute
 as himself; and though he got him condemned to die, the fellow's
 carriage and words were such, as if he knew well how to avoid
 the judgment; which made Cromwell believe that a party in the
 army would attempt his rescue; whereupon he gave strict charge
 that he should be carefully looked to in the Tower, and three or
 four of the guard always with him day and night. And at the
 day for his execution, those troops he was most confident of were Feb. 11.
 upon the Tower-hill, where the gallows were erected. But when
 the guard called him to arise in the morning, they found him
 dead in his bed; which gave trouble exceedingly to Cromwell;
 for besides that he hoped at his death, that, to avoid the utmost
 rigour of it, he would have confessed many of his confederates,
 he now found himself under the reproach of having caused him
 to be poisoned, as not daring to bring him to public justice.
 Nor could he suppress that scandal, though it did appear, upon
 examination, that the night before, when he [Sindercome] was
 going to bed in the presence of his guard, his sister came to take
 her leave of him; and whilst they spake together at the bedside,
 he rubbed his nose with his hand, of which they then took no
 notice; and she going away, he put off his clothes, and leaped
 into his bed with some snuffling in his nose, and said, this was the
 last bed he should ever go into; and seemed to turn to sleep,
 and never in the whole night made the least noise or motion,
 save that he sneezed once. When the physicians and surgeons
 opened his head, they found he had snuffed up through his
 nostrils some very well prepared poison, that in an instant
 curdled all the blood in that region, which presently suffocated
 him. The man was drawn by a horse to the gallows where he
 should have hanged, and buried under it, with a stake driven
 through him, as is usual in the case of self-murderers: yet this
 accident perplexed Cromwell very much; and though he was
 without the particular discovery which he expected, he made a

1658 general discovery by it that he was more odious in his army than he believed he had been.

1658 145. He seemed to be much afflicted at the death of his
 April 18. friend the earl of Warwick, with whom he had a fast friendship, though neither their humours or their natures were like¹. And the heir of that house, who had married his youngest daughter, died about the same time²; so that all his relation to, or confidence in, that family was at an end, the other branches of it abhorring his alliance. His domestic delights were lessened every day; and he plainly discovered that his son Falconbridge his heart was set upon an interest destructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly. But that which broke his peace was the
 Aug. 6. death of his daughter Claypole, who had been always his greatest joy, and who had in her sickness, which was of a nature the physicians knew not how to deal with, had several conferences with him which exceedingly perplexed him. And though nobody was near enough to hear the particulars, yet her often mentioning, in the pains she endured, the blood her father had spilt, made people conclude that she had presented his worst actions to his consideration. And though he never made the least show of remorse for any of those actions, it is very certain that either what she said or her death affected him wonderfully.

146. Whatever it was, about the middle of August he was seized on by a common tertian ague, from which he believed a little ease and divertisement at Hampton Court would have freed him. But the fits grew stronger, and his spirits much
 Aug. 24. abated; so that he returned again to Whitehall; when his physicians began to think him in danger, though the preachers, who prayed always about him, and told God Almighty what great things he had done for him, and how much more need he had still of his service, declared, as from God, that he should recover; and he himself did not think he should die, till even the time that his spirits failed him; and then declared to them

¹ ['not like,' MS.]

² [Robert, grandson of the above-mentioned earl, married the Protector's daughter Frances, Nov. 11, 1657, but died Feb. 16 following.]

that he did appoint his son to succeed him, his eldest son 1658 Richard; and so expired upon the third day of September, (a day Sept. 3. he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had triumphed for several victories¹), 1658; a day very memorable for the greatest storm of wind that had ever been known, for some hours before and after his death, which overthrew trees, houses, and made great wrecks at sea, and was so universal, that there [were] terrible effects of it both in France and Flanders, where all people trembled at it; besides the wrecks all along the coast, many boats having been cast away in the very rivers; and within few days after, that circumstance of his death that accompanied that storm was known.

147. He was one of those men *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt nisi ut simul laudent*; for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of courage and industry and judgment. And he must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in the applying them, who from a private and obscure birth, (though of a good family,) without interest of estate, alliance or friendships, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests, into a consistence that contributed to his designs and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What Velleius Paterculus said of Cinna may very justly be said of him, *Ausum eum quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfecisse quæ a nullo nisi fortissimo perfici possent*². Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion and moral honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those trophies without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

148. When he appeared first in the Parliament, he seemed to

¹ [Dunbar and Worcester.]

² [lib. ii. cap. 24.]

1658 have a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which use to reconcile the affections of the standers by : yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be renew[ed], as if he had concealed faculties till he had occasion to use them ; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency through the want of custom.

149¹. After he was confirmed and invested Protector by *The humble Petition and Advice*, he consulted with very few upon any action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolved upon with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it ; nor to them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority, but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

150. When he had laid some very extraordinary tax upon the city, one Cony, an eminent fanatic, and one who had heretofore served him very notably, positively refused to pay his part, and loudly dissuaded others from submitting to it, as an imposition notoriously against the law and the propriety of the subject, which all honest men were bound to defend. Cromwell sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory of the old kindness and friendship that had been between them, and that of all men he did not expect this opposition from him, in a matter that was so necessary for the good of the commonwealth. But it was always his fortune to meet with the most rude and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly been absolutely governed by him, and they commonly put him in mind of some expressions and saying of his own in cases of the like nature ; so this man remembered him how great an enemy he had expressed himself to such grievances, and declared that all who submitted to them and paid illegal taxes were more to blame, and greater enemies to their country, than they who imposed them, and that the tyranny of princes could never be grievous but by the tameness and stupidity of the people. When Cromwell saw that he could

¹ [*Hist.*, p. 33.]

not convert him, he told him that he had a will as stubborn as 1658 his, and he would try which of them two should be master; and thereupon, with some terms of reproach and contempt, he committed the man to prison; whose courage was nothing abated by it; but as soon as the term came, he brought his *habeas corpus* in the King's Bench, which they then called the 1655 Upper Bench. Maynard, who was of counsel with the prisoner, May 13. demanded his liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful authority. The judges could not maintain or defend either, but enough declared what their sentence would be; and therefore the Protector's Attorney required a farther day to answer what had been urged. Before that day, Maynard was committed to the Tower¹, for presuming May 18. to question or make doubt of his authority; and the judges were sent for, and severely reprehended for suffering that license; and when they with all humility mentioned the law and *Magna Charta*, Cromwell told them, their *magna carta* should not control his actions, which he knew were for the safety of the commonwealth. He asked them who made them judges; [whether²] they had any authority to sit there but what he gave them; and that if his authority were at an end, they knew well enough what would become of themselves; and therefore advised them to be more tender of that which could only preserve them; and so dismissed them with caution, that they should not suffer the lawyers to prate what it would not become them to hear.

151. Thus he subdued a spirit that had been often troublesome to the most sovereign power, and made Westminster Hall as obedient and subservient to his commands as any of the rest of his quarters. In all other matters which did not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, and rarely interposed between party and party. And as he proceeded with this kind of indignation and haughtiness with those who were refractory and dared to contend with his

¹ [together with Cony's other counsel, serj. Thos. Twysden, and Wadham Windham. *Calend. Dom. S. P.* 1655 (1881), p. 168.]

² ['where,' MS.]

1658 greatness, so towards those who complied with his good pleasure, and courted his protection, he used a wonderful civility, generosity, and bounty.

152¹. To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates; to awe and govern those nations by an army that was indevoted to him and wished his ruin; was an instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it. And as they did all sacrifice their honour and their interest to his pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded that either of them would have denied him. To manifest which, there need only two instances. The first is, when those of the Valley of Lucerne had unwarily rebelled against the duke of Savoy, which gave occasion to the Pope and the neighbour princes of Italy to call and solicit for their ex-
 1655 May 26. tirpation, which their prince positively resolved upon, Cromwell sent his agent² to the duke of Savoy, (a prince with whom he
 July 29³. had no correspondence or commerce,) and so engaged the cardinal, and even terrified the Pope himself, without so much as doing any grace to the English Catholics, (nothing being more usual than his saying that his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vieca, and that the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome,) that the duke of Savoy thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all those privileges they had formerly enjoyed and newly forfeited.

153. The other instance of his authority was yet greater, and more incredible. In the city of Nismes, which is one of the fairest in the province of Languedock, and where those of the [reformed] Religion do most abound, there was a great faction at that season when the consuls (who are the chief magistrates) were to be chosen. Those of the Religion had the confidence to set up one of themselves for that magistracy; which they of the Roman religion resolved to oppose with all their power. The dissension between them made so much

¹ [*Life*, p. 549.]

² [Samuel Morland.]

³ [Epist. Jo. Milton.]

noise, that the intendant of the province, who is the supreme 1658
 minister in all civil affairs throughout the whole province,
 went thither to prevent any disorder that might happen. When
 the day of the election came, those of the Religion possessed 1658.
 themselves with many armed men of the town-house, where Jan.¹
 the election was to be made. The magistrates sent to know
 what their meaning was; to which they answered, they were
 there to give their voices for the choice of the new consuls,
 and to be sure that the election should be fairly made. The
 bishop of the city, the intendant of the province, with all the
 officers of the church, and the present magistrates of the town,
 went together in their robes to be present at the election,
 without any suspicion that there would be any force used.
 When they came near the gate of the town-house, which was
 shut, and they supposed would be opened when they came,
 they within poured out a volley of musket-shot upon them,
 by which the dean of the church and two or three of the
 magistrates of the town were killed upon the place, and very
 many others wounded, whereof some died shortly after. In
 this confusion, the magistrates put themselves into as good
 a posture to defend themselves as they could, without any
 purpose of offending the other, till they should be better pro-
 vided; in order to which they sent an express to the Court
 with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact, and that
 there appeared to be no manner of combination with those
 of the Religion in other places of the province, but that it
 was an insolence in those of the place, upon their presumption
 of their great numbers, which were little inferior to those of
 the Catholics. The Court was glad of the occasion, and re-
 solved that this provocation, in which other places were not
 involved, and which nobody could excuse, should warrant all
 kind of severity in that city, even to the pulling down their
 temples, and expelling many of them for ever out of the city;
 which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the prin-
 cipal persons, would be a general mortification to all of the
 Religion in France, with whom they were heartily offended.

¹ [See Thurloe's *S. P.*, vi. 727.]

1858 And a part of the army was forthwith ordered to march towards Nismes, to see this executed with the utmost rigour.

154. Those of the Religion in the town were quickly sensible into what condition they had brought themselves, and sent with all possible submission to the magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular men, who had no order for what they did. The magistrates answered, that they were glad they were sensible of their miscarriage; but they could say nothing upon the subject till the King's pleasure should be known, to whom they had sent a full relation of all that had passed. The other very well knew what the King's pleasure would be, and forthwith sent an express, one Moulins, a Scotchman, who had lived many years in that place and in Montpellier, to Cromwell, to desire his protection and interposition. The express made so much haste, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that Cromwell, after he had received the whole account, bade him refresh himself after so long a journey, and he would take such care of his business, that by the time he came to Paris he should find it despatched; and that night sent away another messenger to his ambassador Lockhart, who by the time Moulins came thither had so far prevailed with the cardinal, that orders were sent to stop the troops which were upon their march towards Nismes; and within few days after, Moulins returned with a full pardon and amnesty from the King, under the Great Seal of France, so fully confirmed with all circumstances, that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things passed as if there had never been any such thing. So that nobody can wonder that his memory remains still in those parts, and with those people, in great veneration.

155. He would never suffer himself to be denied any thing he ever asked of the cardinal, alleging that the people would not be otherwise satisfied; which he [the cardinal] bore very heavily, and complained of to those with whom he would be free. One day he visited madam Turyn and when he took his leave of her, she, according to her custom, besought him

to continue gracious to the churches. Whereupon the cardinal 1658 told her that he knew not how to behave himself; if he advised the King to punish and suppress their insolence, Cromwell threatened them to join with the Spaniard; and if he shewed any favour to them, at Rome they accounted him an heretic.

156. He was not a man of blood, and totally declined Machiavell's method, which prescribes upon any alteration of a government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their families, who are friends to the old [one.] And it was confidently reported, that in the council of officers it was more than once proposed that there might be a general massacre of all the royal party, as the only expedient to secure the government, but Cromwell would never consent to it; it may be, out of too much contempt of his enemies. In a word, as he had all the wickednesses against which damnation is denounced and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some virtues which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave bad man.

THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK.

BOOK XVI.

- 1658 1. ¹ CONTRARY to all expectation both at home and abroad, this earthquake was attended with no signal alteration. It was believed that Lambert would be in the head of the army, and that Munk in Scotland would never submit to that subordination. Besides the expectation the King had from the general affection of the kingdom, he had fair promises from men of interest in the kingdom and of command in the army, who professed to prepare for such a conjuncture; and that the disorders arising from hence might dispose Lockhart to depend upon the best title seemed a reasonable expectation: but nothing of this fell out. Never monarch, after he had inherited a crown by many descents, died with more silence, nor with less alteration; the same or a greater calm in the kingdom than had been before.
- Sept. 4. 2. The next morning after the death of Oliver, Richard his son was proclaimed his lawful successor. The army congratulate their new general, and renew their vows of fidelity to him; the navy doth the like; the city appears more unanimous for his service than they were for his father['s;] and most counties in England, by their addresses under their hands, testified their obedience to their new sovereign without any hesitation. The
- Nov. 23. dead is interred in the sepulchre of the kings, and with the obsequies due to such: and his son inherits all his greatness and all his glory, without that public hate that visibly attended the other. Foreign princes addressed their condolences² to him, and desired to renew their alliances; and nothing was heard in England but the voice of joy, and large encomiums of their new Protector. So that the King's condition never appeared so hopeless, so desperate; for a more favourable

¹ [*Life*, p. 550.]

² ['condoliances,' MS.]

conjuncture they could never expect than this, that had blasted 1658 all their hopes, and confirmed their utmost despair.

3. And it is probable that this melancholic prospect might have continued long, if this child of fortune could have sat still, and been contented to have enjoyed his own felicity. But his council thought it necessary that he should call a Parlia- Dec. 4. ment, to confirm what they had already given him, and to dispel all clouds which might arise. And there seemed to be the more reason for it, because the last alliance which Oliver had made, and of which he was fonder than of all the rest, with the Crown of Sweden, did oblige him in the spring to send a strong fleet into the Sound, to assist that King against Denmark; at least to oblige Denmark, by way of mediation, to accept of such conditions as the other would be willing to give him. And this could hardly be done without some assistance by Parliament; and therefore he sent out his writs to call a Parliament, to meet together on the 27th day of January, till which day, for the full space of four months, he remained as great a prince as ever his father had been. He followed the model that was left him, and sent out his writs to call those as peers who had constituted the other House in the former Parliament. And so both Lords and Commons met at the day assigned.

4. Richard came to his Parliament in the same state that Oliver his father had used to do; and sent the gentleman 1659 usher of the black rod to the Commons, that they should Jan. 27. attend him in the other House; where, first by himself, and then by his Keeper of his seal, Nathaniel Fynes, he recommended to them the prosecution of the war with Spain and the assistance of the King of Sweden in the Sound. And he had so good fortune at the entrance, that all the Commons signed an engagement not to alter the present government. But they were no sooner enclosed within those walls but there appeared the old republical spirit, though more wary than it had used to be. It began to enquire into the accounts, how Feb. 3. the money had been spent; enquired into the offices of excise and customs, and what was become of all that money. When they were called upon to settle the Act of recognition, to

1659 confirm him and his authority in the State, they would first
 Feb. 8. inform themselves of their own authority, and how far the
 government was already settled, and what part was fit to be
 Feb. 19- assigned to the other House; which they would by no means
 March 28. allow to be a part of the government already established, and
 which they had promised not to alter. And upon this argu-
 ment they exercised themselves with great license, as well
 upon the creator of those peers, the power of the late Pro-
 tector, as upon his creatures the peers; of whose dignity they
 were not tender, but handled them according to the quality
 they had been of, not that which they were in. They put
 them in mind how grievous it had been to the kingdom that
 the bishops had sat in the House of Peers, because they were
 looked upon as so many votes for the King; which was a reason
 much stronger against these men, who were all the work of the
 Protector's own hands, and therefore could not but be entirely
 addicted and devoted to his interest. They concluded, that they
 could not with good consciences, and without the guilt of perjury,
 ever consent that that House should have any part in the govern-
 ment, since they had all taken the engagement that there should
 be no more any House of Peers, and that the office of the Pro-
 tector had been, and might still continue, without it.

5. Notwithstanding all this confidence, which disturbed the
 method intended to be proceeded in, this violent party could
 March 28. not prevail, but it was carried by the major part of the House¹
 that they would meet and confer with the other House, as a
 part of the Parliament during this present Parliament; and
 likewise that such other persons who had a right to come to
 that other House, and had not forfeited it by their breach of
 trust, (by which they meant those lords who had been always
 against the King,) should not be restrained from coming
 thither. Yet the temper of the House could hardly be judged
 by all this. Some things were done which looked like condescen-
 sion to the royal party, but more for the countenance of the
 Presbyterians; and whatsoever contradicted those who were for
 a republic was looked upon as favourable to the Protector.

¹ [by 198 to 125.]

6. The stirring these several humours, and the drowsy 1659 temper of Richard, raised another spirit in the army. A new council of officers met together by their own authority, and admitted Lambert, though no member of the army, to sit with them: they neither liked Protector nor Parliament, but consulted what government to settle, that might be better than either: yet they would not incense them both together, nor appear to have any disinclination to Richard, who had many of his nearest friends amongst them. They therefore prepared an address to him; in which they complained of the great arrears of pay that was due to the army, by which they were in great straits: that they who had borne the brunt of the war, and undergone all the difficulties and dangers of it, were now undervalued, derided, and laid aside: that the good old cause was ill spoken of, and traduced by malignants and disaffected persons, who grew every day more insolent, and their numbers increased by the resort out of Flanders and other places, and that they had several secret meetings in the city of London: that the names of all those who had sat upon the late King as his judges were lately printed in red letters¹, and scattered abroad as if they were designed to destruction; and that many suits were commenced at common law against honest men for what they had transacted in the war as soldiers: that those famous acts which had been performed in the Long Parliament, and by the late Protector, were censured, railed at, and vilified. By all which, they said, it was very manifest that the good old cause was declined, which they were resolved to assert. And therefore they besought his highness to present those things to the Parliament, and to require proper and speedy remedies.

7. And this address was delivered from the army by Fleet-wood to Richard in April, 1659; which was no sooner known, but Titchborne and Ireton, two aldermen of London, and principal commanders of that militia, drew up likewise another remonstrance, which they sent to the council of officers; in April 20². which they declared their resolutions with the army to stick to

¹ [The words 'in red letters' are not in the address as printed by H. Hills at the time.]

² [Whitelocke's *Memorials*.]

1659 the good old cause, and that they were resolved to accompany them in whatsoever they should do for the nation's good.

8. The Parliament was quickly alarmed with these cabals of the army and the city, which Richard was as much terrified with as they. And in order to the suppression thereof, the Parliament voted, that there should be no meeting or general council of officers without the Protector's consent, and by his order; and that no person should have command by sea or land, in either of the three nations, who did not immediately subscribe that he would not disturb the free meeting of Parliament, or of any members in either House of Parliament, or obstruct their freedom in debates and counsels.

9. These votes, or to this effect, were sent to Richard, and by him presently to Wallingford House, where the council of officers then sat. These were men who resolved to execute as well as order, and knew well that they were gone much too far if they went no farther: and therefore they no sooner received these votes, but they sent Fleetwood and Desborough (the one had married his sister¹, the other was his uncle², both raised by Cromwell) to Richard, to advise him forthwith to dissolve the Parliament. They were two upon whose affection, in regard to the mereness of their alliance, and the obligation [to] and dependence upon his father, he had as much reason to be confident as of any men's in the nation. Fleetwood used no arguments but of conscience, to prevent the nation's being engaged in blood; which would inevitably fall out if the Parliament were not presently dissolved. Desborough, a fellow of a rough and rude temper, treated him only with threats and menaces; told him it was impossible for him to keep both the Parliament and the army his friends; wished him to choose which he would: if he dissolved the Parliament out of hand, he had the army at his devotion; if he refused that, he believed the army would quickly pull him out of Whitehall.

10. The poor man had not spirit enough to discern what was best for him, and yet he was not without friends to counsel

¹ [the eldest, Bridget, widow of Ireton.]

² [by marriage with Jane, his father's sister, June 23, 1636.]

him if he had been capable to receive counsel, besides many 1659 members of the Parliament, of courage and interest, who repaired to him with assurance that the Parliament would continue firm to him, and destroy the ringleaders of this seditious crew, if he would adhere to it; on the other hand, if he were prevailed upon to dissolve it, he would be left without a friend, and they who had compelled him to do so imprudent an action would condemn him when he had done it. Some officers of the army, of equal courage and interest with most of the rest, persuaded him to reject the desire of those who called themselves the council of the army, and to think of punishing their presumption. Ingol[d]sby, Whal[e]y, and Goffe, three colonels of the army, and the two former men of signal courage, offered to stand by him; and one of them offered to kill Lambert, whom they looked upon as the author of this conspiracy, if he would give him a warrant to that purpose.

11. Richard continued irresolute, now and then inclined one way, and then another way. But in the end, Desborough and his companions prevailed with him, before they parted, to sign a commission, which they had caused to be prepared, to Nathaniel Fynes, his Keeper of his seal, to dissolve the Parliament the next morning. Of which the Parliament having April 22. notice, they resolved not to go up, so that when Fynes sent for them to the other House, the Commons shut the door of the house, and would not suffer the gentleman usher of the black rod to come in, but adjourned themselves for three days, till the 25th of April, imagining that they should by that time convert the Protector from destroying himself. But the poor creature was so hared by the council of officers, that he presently caused a proclamation to be issued out, by which he April 23. did declare the Parliament to be dissolved. And from that minute nobody resorted to him, nor was the name of the Protector afterwards heard of but in derision; the council of officers appointing guards to attend at Westminster, which kept [out] those members, who, in pursuance of their adjournment, would have entered into the house upon the day appointed. And thus the extreme pusillanimity of the son suffered

1659 himself to be stripped in one moment of all the greatness and power which the father had acquired in so many years with wonderful courage, industry, and resolution.

12. When the council of officers had with this strange success, having no authority but what they gave one another, rid themselves of a superior, or, as the phrase then was, removed the *single person*; knowing that they could not long hold the government in their own hands, if, before any thing else, they did not remove Ingol[d]sby, Whal[e]y, Goffe, and those other officers who had dissuaded Richard to submit to their advice, from having any command in the army, [this]¹ they therefore did; and replaced Lambert, and all the rest who had been cashiered by Cromwell, into their own charges again. So that the army was become republical to the[ir] wish; and that the government might return to be purely such, they published a
 May 6. declaration upon the 6th May, wherein (after a large preamble in commendation of the good old cause, and excusing themselves for having been instrumental in declining from it, from whence all the ills the commonwealth had sustained had proceeded, and the vindication whereof they were resolved to pursue for the future) they remembered that the Long Parliament, consisting of those members who had continued to sit till the 20th of April 1653, (which was the day that Cromwell, with the assistance of these very officers, had pulled them out of the House and dismissed them,) had been eminent assertors of that cause, and had a special presence of God with them, and were signally blessed in that work, the desires of many good people concurring with them, they did by that declaration, according to their duty, invite those members to return to the discharge of their trust, as they had done before that day; and that they should be ready, in their places, to yield them their utmost assistance, that they might sit and consult in safety, for the settling and securing the peace and quiet of the commonwealth, for which they had now so good an opportunity.

13. This was the only way in which they could all agree, though it was not suitable to what most of them desired: and

¹ ['which,' MS.]

they well foresaw that they might give an opportunity to more ¹⁶⁵⁹ people to come together than would be for their benefit, for that all the surviving members of that Parliament would pretend a title to sit there: and therefore they did not only carefully limit the convention to such members who had continued to sit from January 1648 to April 1653, but caused a guard likewise to attend, to hinder and keep the other members from entering into the House. And when Lenthall, the old ^{May 7.} Speaker, with forty or fifty of those old members specified in the declaration, took their places in the House, and some of the old excluded members likewise got in, and entered into debate with them upon the matters proposed, the House was adjourned till the next day: and then better care was taken, by appointing such persons who well knew all the members, to inform the guards who were and who were not to go into the House. And by this means, only that cabal was suffered to enter which had first formed the commonwealth, and fostered it for near five years after it was born. So that the return of the government into these men's hands again seemed to all men to be the most dismal change that could happen, and to pull up all the hopes of the King by the roots¹.

14. We must, for the better observation and distinction of the several changes in the government, call this congregation

¹ [The following passage is here struck out in the MS., as it is virtually repeated below, in § 75, in better connection with the text. 'And it did for the present make so deep an impression in the hearts of many, that when an overture was at this time made from Spain to make the duke of York admiral of his galleys, which the King for many reasons suspended giving his consent unto, the chief servants about his royal highness were so transported with the proposition, that they were very much troubled that their master made not all the haste that was possible to be possessed of the charge; and endeavoured all they could to persuade the duke that they who prevailed with the King not to give his consent were his enemies, and would not have him to be [in] a condition in which he might be able to live like a prince. And when in discourse they were desired to consider that if the duke went into Spain he could not be permitted to enter into that charge, what title soever he might have given to him, unless he changed his religion and became Catholic, and what the consequence of that might be in England, they were so far from being moved with the argument, and in that despair of ever seeing England, that they thought the religion of it not worth the insisting on.']

- 1659 of men, who were now repossessed of the government, by the style they called themselves, *the Parliament*, how far soever they were from being one. They resolved in the first place to vindicate and establish their own authority, which they could not think to be firm whilst there was still a Protector, or the name of a Protector, in being, and residing in Whitehall. They
- May 16. appointed therefore a committee to go to Richard Cromwell, and, that he might have hope that they would be his good masters, first to inquire into the state of his debts, and then to demand of him whether he acquiesced in the present government.
- May 25. 15. He, already humbled to that poverty of spirit they could wish, gave the committee a paper, in which he said was contained the state of his debts, and how contracted; which amounted to twenty-nine thousand pounds and six hundred and forty. And to the other question his answer was likewise in writing; That he trusted his carriage and behaviour had manifested his acquiescence in the will and good pleasure of God, and that he loved and valued the peace of the commonwealth much above his private concernment; desiring by this, that a measure of his future comportment might be taken, which, by the blessing of God, should be such as should bear the same witness; he having, he hoped, in some degree learned rather to reverence and submit to the hand of God than be unquiet under it: that, as to the late providence that had fallen out, however in respect to the particular engagement that lay upon him he could not be active in making a change in the government of the nations, yet, through the goodness of God, he could freely acquiesce in it, being made; and did hold himself obliged, as, with other men, he might expect protection from the present government, so to demean himself with all peaceableness under it, and to procure, to the uttermost of his power, that all in whom he had interest should do the same.
16. This satisfied them as to Richard; but they were not without apprehension that they should find a more refractory spirit in his brother Harry, who was Lieutenant of Ireland,

and looked upon as a man of another air and temper. He had 1659 in his exercise of that government, by the jolliness of his humour, and a general civility towards all, and very particularly obliging some, rendered himself gracious and popular to all sorts of people, and might have been able to have made some contests with them. But as soon as he received an order June 7. from them to attend them in person, he thought not fit to be June 15. wiser than his elder brother, and came over to them even sooner than they expected, and laid his commission at their July 4. feet; which they accepted, and put the government of that kingdom into the hands of Ludlow and four other commissioners¹.

17². It may not prove ingrateful to the reader, in this place, to entertain him with a very pleasant story that related to this miserable Richard, though long afterwards, because there will not be again any occasion so much as to mention him during the continuance of this relation. Shortly after the King's return, and the manifest joy that possessed the whole kingdom thereupon, this poor creature found it necessary to transport himself into France, more for fear of his debts than of the King, who thought it not necessary to inquire after a man who had been so long forgotten. After he had lived some years in Paris untaken notice of, indeed unknown, living in a most obscure condition in disguise, and not owning his own name, nor having above one servant to attend him, he thought it necessary, upon the first rumour and apprehension that there was like to be a war between England and France, to quit that kingdom, and to remove to some place that would be neutral to either party, and so pitched upon Geneva; and made his way thither by Bourdeaux; and through the province of Languedock, he passed through Pissenas, [Pezenas] a very pleasant town belonging to the prince of Conty who hath a fair palace there, and, being then governor of Languedock, made his residence there.

¹ [Five commissioners, without Ludlow, whose name was rejected on July 7, the day on which the Act for the Commissioners for Ireland was passed. But Ludlow was appointed commander-in-chief for Ireland on July 4.]

² [*Hist.*, p. 31.]

- 1659 18. In this place Richard made some stay, and walking abroad to entertain himself with the view of the situation, and of many things worth the seeing, he met with a person who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his father's and of his party; so that they were glad enough to find themselves together. The other told him, that all strangers who came to that town used to wait upon the prince of Conty, the governor of the province; who expected it, and always treated all strangers, and particularly all the English, with much civility; that he need not be known, but that he would first go to the prince, and inform him that another English gentleman was passing through that town towards Italy, who would be glad to have the honour to kiss his hands. The prince received him with great civility and grace, according to his natural custom, and, after few words, began to discourse of the affairs of England, and asked many questions concerning the King, and whether all men were quiet, and submitted obediently to him; which the other answered shortly according to the truth. 'Well,' said the prince, 'Oliver, though he was a traitor and a villain, was a brave fellow, and had great parts, great courage, and was worthy to command; but that Richard, that coxcomb, cockayn [*coquin*], poltroon, was surely the basest fellow alive. What is become of that fool? how was it possible he could be such a sot?' He answered, 'that he was betrayed by those whom he most trusted, and who had been most obliged by his father;' and, being weary of his visit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the town, out of fear that the prince might know that he was the very fool and coxcomb he had mentioned so kindly. And within two days after the prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated so well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believed to be a man not very glad of the King's restoration.
- May 12. 19¹. Munk from Scotland presented his obedience to them [the Parliament,] and the assurance of the fidelity of the army under his command to all their determinations. The navy con-

¹ [*Life*, p. 554.]

gratulated their return to the sovereign power, and tendered ¹⁶⁵⁹ their submission. The ambassadors who were in the town ^{May 27.} quickly received new credentials, and then had audience from them as their good allies, they making all their professions to them which they had formerly done to Oliver and Richard. And they continued Lockhart as their ambassador in France, as a man who could best cajole the cardinal, and knew well the bowels of that Court. They sent ambassadors ¹ to the Sound, June 9. to mediate a peace between those two Crowns, being resolved to decline all occasions of expense abroad, that they might the better settle their government at home. And to that purpose they were willing to put an end to the war with Spain, without parting with any thing that had been taken from it, which would not consist with their honour. And that they might thoroughly unite their friends of the army to them, they passed July 12. an Act of indemnity to pardon all their former transgressions and tergiversations, which had been the cause of their former dissolution, and of all the mischieves which had followed.

20. And now there appeared as great a calm as ever, and the government as well settled to the general content of the people, who testified the same by their general acclamations, and likewise by particular addresses. And that they might be sure to be liable to no more affronts, they would no more make a general, which might again introduce a single person; the thought of which, or of any thing that might contribute towards it, they most heartily abhorred. And to make it impossible, they appointed the Speaker to execute the June 6. office of general in such manner as they should direct, and that all commissions should be granted by him, and sealed with their own seal, all the seals used by Cromwell being broken. And accordingly all the officers of the army and navy (for the Speaker was admiral as well as general) delivered up their commissions, and took new in the form that was prescribed. So that now they saw not how their empire could be shaken.

¹ [Algernon Sydney, Sir Rob. Honeywood, Edw. Mountague, and Thomas Boone. Whitelocke was also proposed, at first, in the Council of State, but declined the commission.]

1659 21. But these men had not sat long in their old places but they called to mind how they had been used after they had been deposed, the reproaches and the contempt they underwent from all kinds of people; but above all, the scoffs and derision they suffered from the King's party, when they saw them reduced to the same level in power and authority. And though the smart they felt from others vexed and angered them as much, yet they were content to suspend their revenge towards them that they might with less control exercise their tyranny July 13. over the poor broken cavaliers. So they made a present order to banish all who had ever manifested any affection to the King or his father twenty miles from London, and revived all those orders they had formerly made, and which Cromwell had abolished or forbore to execute, by which many persons were committed to prisons, for offences which they thought had been forgotten. And the consequences of these proceedings awakened those of another *classis* to apprehensions of what they might be made liable to. The soldiers were very merry at their new general, and thought it necessary he should march with them upon the next adventure; and the officers thought they had deserved more than an Act of indemnity for restoring them to such a sovereignty. In a word, as they remembered how they had been used, so all other people remembered how they had used them, and could not bring themselves to look with reverence upon those whom for above four years together they had derided and contemned.

22. This universal temper raised the spirits again of the King's friends, who found very many of those who had heretofore served the Parliament and been afterwards disobliged by Cromwell very desirous to enter into amity with them, and to make a firm conjunction with them towards the King's establishment. Those members of the Long Parliament who after the treaty of the Isle of Wight were by violence kept from the House, took it in great indignation, that those upon whom the same violence was practised afterwards which they had first countenanced upon them, should not restore them, being now restored themselves, and were ready to embrace any

occasion to disturb their new governors; to which they were 1659 the more encouraged by the common discourses of the soldiers, who declared, that if there were any commotion in the kingdom, they would go no farther to suppress it than Mr. Lenthall should lead them.

23. Mr. Mordant, who had so lately his head upon the block, was more active than any man, and was so well trusted by men of all conditions, upon the courage of his former behaviour, that he had in truth very full engagements from very good men in most quarters of the kingdoms, that if the King would assign them a day, and promise to come to them after they were embodied, they would not fail to appear at the day. Whereupon he ventured himself to come in disguise to the King to Bruxells, to give him a clear account how his business stood, and what probability there was of success, and likewise to complain of the want of forwardness in those upon whose persons the King most relied to encourage other men, and that his majesty might by him require them to concur with the rest. It appeared by the account he gave, that there were very few counties in England where there was not a formal undertaking by the most powerful men of that country to possess themselves of some considerable place in that county; and if any of them succeeded, the opportunity would be fairer for the King to venture his own person than he had yet had, or than he was like to have if he suffered those who were now in the government to be settled in it. end of June.

24. That which was best digested, and in respect of the undertakers most like to succeed, [was¹] first, the surprisal and possessing of Lynn, a maritime town, of great importance in respect of the situation and likewise of the good affection of all the gentlemem of the parts adjacent. This was undertaken by the lord Willoughby of Parham, with the consent and approbation of sir Horatio Townesend, who, being a gentleman of the greatest interest and credit in that large county of Norfolk, was able to bring in a good body of men to possess it. The former had served the Parliament, and was in great credit with

¹ ['were,' MS.]

1659 the Presbyterians, and so less liable to suspicion; the latter had been under age till long after the end of [the] war, and so liable to no reproach or jealousy, yet of very worthy principles, and of a noble fortune, which he engaged very frankly to borrow money, which he laid out to provide arms and ammunition; and all the King's friends in those parts were ready to obey those persons in whatsoever they undertook.

25. Another design, which was looked upon as ripe too, was the surprisal of Gloster, a town very advantageously situated upon the river of Severn, and would have great influence upon Bristol and Worcester, both which, persons of the best interest undertook to secure as soon as Gloster should be possessed: which major general Mass[e]y, who had been formerly governor thereof, and defended it too well against the King, made no question he should be able to do, having been in the town *incognito*, and conferred with his friends there, and lay concealed in the adjacent places, till the day should be appointed for the execution of it; of all which he sent the King an account; nor did there appear much difficulty in the point, there being no garrison in either of the places.

26. The lord Newport, Littleton, and the gentlemen of Shropshire, were ready at the same time to secure Shrewsbury; and for the making that communication perfect, sir George Booth, a person of the best fortune and interest in Cheshire, and, for the memory of his grandfather, of absolute power with the Presbyterians, promised to possess himself of the city and castle of Chester. And sir Thomas Middleton, who had likewise served the Parliament, and was a man of the best fortune and interest in North Wales, was ready to join with sir George Booth; and both of them to unite entirely with the King's party in those parts. In the west, Arrundell, Pollard, Green-vill, and the rest of Cornwall and Devonshire, hoped to possess Plimmoth, but were sure of Exciter. Other undertakings there were in the north, by men very ready to venture all they had.

27. When the King received this account in gross from a person well instructed, and whereof he had by retail received

much from the persons concerned, (for it was another circumstance of the looseness of the present government, that messengers went forward and backward with all security,) and likewise found by Mr. Mordant that all things were now gone so far that there was no retreat, and therefore that the resolution was general, that, though any discovery should be made and any persons imprisoned, the rest should proceed as soon as the day should be appointed by the King, his majesty resolved that he would adventure his own person, and would be ready *incognito* at Calice upon such a day of the month, and that his brother the duke of York should be likewise there, or very near; to the end that they might from thence, upon the intelligence of the success of that day, which was likewise then appointed, dispose¹ themselves, one to one place, and the other to another.

28. There was in this conjuncture a very unhappy accident, which did do much harm, and might have done much more. From the death of Oliver, they who were in the secretest part of affairs discerned evidently that their new Protector would never be able to bear the burden, and so thought how they might do such service to the King that might merit from him. One who had a part in the office of secrecy², sent an express to the King, to inform him of many particulars of moment, and to give him some advices, what his majesty was to do which was reasonable and prudent to be done. He sent him word what persons might be induced to serve him, and what way he was to take to induce them to it, and what other persons would never do it, what professions soever they might make. He made offer of his service to his majesty, and constantly to advertise him of whatsoever was necessary for him to know; and as an instance of his fidelity and his usefulness, he advertised his majesty of a person who was much trusted by him and constantly betrayed him, that he received a large pension from Cromwell, and that he constantly gave Thurloe³ intelligence of all that he knew, but that it was with so great circumspection

¹ ['they might dispose,' MS.]

² [Samuel Morland.]

³ ['Thurlough,' MS.]

1659 that he was never seen in his presence : that in his contract he had promised to make such discoveries as should prevent any danger to the State, but that he would never endanger any man's life, nor be produced to give in evidence against any ; and that this very person had discovered the marquis of Ormonde's being in London the last year to Cromwell, but could not be induced to discover where his lodging was ; only undertook his journey should be ineffectual, and that he should quickly return ; and then they might take him if they could, to which he would not contribute ; to conclude, his majesty was desired to trust this man no more, and to give his friends notice of it for their caution and indemnity.

29. The King, and they who were most trusted by him in his secret transactions, believed not this information, but concluded that it was contrived to amuse him, and to distract all his affairs by a jealousy of those who were intrusted in the conduct of them. The gentleman accused¹ had from the beginning to the end of the war given testimony of his duty and allegiance, and was universally thought to be superior to all temptation of infidelity. He was a gentleman, was very well bred, and of very good parts, a courage eminently known, and a very good officer, and in truth of so general a good reputation, that if the King had professed to have any doubt of his honesty his friends would have thought he had received ill infusions without any ground ; and he had given a very late testimony of his sincerity by concealing the marquis of Ormonde, who had communicated more with him than with any man in England during his being there. On the other side, all the other information and advice that was sent was very important, and could have no end but his majesty's service ; and the offices which the gentleman offered to perform for the future were of that consequence that they could not be overvalued. This intelligence could not be sent with a hope of getting money ; for the present condition of him who sent it was so good that he expected no reward till the King should be enabled to give it ; and he who was sent in the errand was likewise a gentleman who did not look for the charges of

¹ [Sir Richard Willis.]

his journey: and how could it have been known that that 1659 person had been trusted by the marquis of Ormonde if he had not discovered it himself?

30. In this perplexity, his majesty would not depart from his confidence in that gentleman [accused]. As to all other particulars he confessed himself much satisfied in the information he had received, acknowledged the great service, and made all those promises which were necessary in such a case; only frankly declared, that nothing could convince him of the infidelity of that gentleman, or make him withdraw his trust from him, but the evidence of his handwriting, which was well known. This messenger no sooner returned to London but July. another was despatched, with all that manifestation of the truth of what had been before informed, that there remained no more room to doubt. A great number of his letters were sent, whereof the character was well known; and the intelligence communicated was of such things as were known to very few besides that person himself.

31. One thing was observed throughout the whole, that he never communicated any thing in which there was a necessity to name any man who was of the King's party and had been always so reputed: but what was undertaken by any of the Presbyterian party, or by any who had been against the King, was poured out to the life. Amongst those, he gave information of Mass[e]y's design upon Gloster, and of his being concealed in some place near the same. If at any time he named any who had been of the King's party, it was only of them who were satisfied with what they had done, how little soever, and resolved to adventure no more. Whereupon very many were imprisoned in several places, and great noise of want of secrecy or treachery in the King's councils; which reproach fell upon those who were about the person of the King.

32. It was a new perplexity to the King that he knew not by what means to communicate this treason to his friends, lest the discovery of it might likewise come to light; which must ruin a person of merit, and disappoint his majesty of that service which must be of that huge moment. In this conjuncture

1859 Mr. Mordant came to Bruxells, and informed his majesty of all July. those particulars relating to the posture his friends were in which are mentioned before; and amongst the other orders he desired, one was, that somewhat might be sent to that knot of men whereof the accused person was one, who he said were looked upon as principally trusted by his majesty, and were all men of honour, but so wary and incredulous, that others were much discouraged by their coldness; and therefore wished that they might be quickened, and required to concur with the most forward. Hereupon the King asked him what he thought of such a one, naming the person. Mr. Mordant answered, it was of him they complained principally; who, they thought, was the cause of all the wariness in the rest, who looked upon him not only as an excellent officer but as a prudent and discreet man, and therefore, for the most part, all debates were referred to him; and he was so much given to objections, and to raising difficulties, and making things unpracticable, that most men had an unwillingness to make any proposition to him. The King asked him whether he had any suspicion of his want of honesty. The other answered, that he was so far from any such suspicion, that, though he did not take him to be his friend, by reason of the many disputes and contradictions frequently between them, he would put his life into his hand to-morrow.

33. It was not thought reasonable that Mr. Mordant should return into England with a confidence in this man, and therefore his majesty freely told all he knew but the way by which he knew it, or that he had his very letters in his own hand, which would quickly have discovered how he came by them; and charged him no farther to communicate with that person, and to give his friends such caution as might not give a greater disturbance to his affairs by raising new factions amongst them, or provoke him to do more mischief, which was in his power to do. But for all this there was another expedient found; for by the time Mr. Mordant returned to London, the person who gave the King the advertisement, out of his own wisdom, and knowledge of the ill consequence of that trust, caused papers to be posted up in several places, by which all persons were warned not to

look upon such a man (who was named) as faithful to the King, 1659 but as one who betrayed all that he was trusted with¹; which in the general had some effect, though many worthy men still continued their intimacy with him, and communicated with him all they knew to be resolved.

34. It was towards the end of June² that Mr. Mordant left Bruxells, with a resolution that there should be a general rendezvous throughout England of all who would declare for the King, upon a day named, about the middle of July, there being Aug. 1. commissions in every county directed to six or seven known men, with authority to them to choose one to command in chief in that county, till they should make a conjunction with other forces who had a superior commission from the King. And those commissioners had in their hands plenty of commissions under the King's hand, for regiments and governments, to distribute to such as they judged fit to receive them; which was the best model (how liable soever to exception) that in so distracted a state of affairs could be devised.

35. The King, as is said, resolved at the day appointed to be at Calice; which resolution was kept with [so] great secrecy at Bruxells, that, towards the time, his majesty had left the town before it was suspected, and when he was gone, it was as little known whither he was gone; there being as much care taken to have it concealed from being known in France as in England. Therefore, as the King went out in the morning, so the duke of York Aug. 13³. went out in the afternoon, another way, his highness his motion being without any suspicion or notice, by reason of his command in the army. The King went attended by the marquis of Ormonde, the earl of Bristol, (who was the guide, being well acquainted with the frontiers on both sides,) and two or three servants, all *incognito* and as companions; and they found their way to Calice, where they stayed. The duke of York, with four

¹ [Mordaunt and Titus in a letter to Hyde of 1st July from London say that on the day of their arrival at London a 'scandalous libel' was set up at the Exchange in prejudice of Willis, as intimating his treacherous correspondence. *Clar. MSS.*]

² [beginning of July.]

³ [*Calend. Dom. S. P.*, 1659-60, pp. 81, 82.]

1659 or five of his own menial servants, and the lord Langdale, who desired to attend his highness, went to Bulloigne [Boulogne]; where he remained with equal privacy; and [they] corresponded with each other.

36. The affairs in England had no prosperous aspect; every post brought news of many persons of honour and quality committed to several prisons throughout the kingdom before the day appointed; which did not terrify the rest. The day itself was accompanied with very unusual weather at that season of the
 July 31. year, being the middle of July. The night before had an excessive rain, which continued all the next day, with so terrible a cold high wind that the winter had seldom so great a storm: so that the persons who over England were drawing to their appointed rendezvous were infinitely dismayed, and met with many cross accidents; some mistook the place, and went some whither else, others went where they should be and were weary of expecting those who should have been there.

July 31. 37. In the beginning of the night, when Mass[e]y was going for Gloster, a troop of the army beset the house where he was, and took him prisoner; and putting him before one of the troopers well guarded, they made haste to carry him to a place where he might be secure. But that tempestuous night had so much of good fortune in it, that, in the darkest part of it, the troop marching down a very steep hill¹ with woods on both sides, he, either by his activity or the connivance of the soldier who was upon the same horse with him, found means that, in the steepest of the descent, they both fell from the horse, and he disentangled himself from the embraces of the other, and, being strong and nimble, got into the woods, and so escaped out of their hands, though his design was broken.

38. Of all the enterprises for the seizing upon strong places only one succeeded, which was that undertaken by sir George Booth; all the rest failed. The lord Willoughby of Parram, and sir Horace Townesend, and most of their friends, were apprehended before the day, and made prisoners, most of them

¹ [Nympsfield hill.]

upon general suspicions, as men able to do hurt. Only sir 1659 George Booth, being a person of the best quality and fortune of that county of those who had never been of the King's party, came into Chester, with such persons as he thought fit to take with him, the night before: so that though the tempestuousness of the night and the next morning had the same effect as in other places to break or disorder the rendezvous, that was appointed within four or five miles of that city, yet being himself there with a good troop of horse that he brought with him, and finding others, though not in the number he looked for, he retired with those he had into Chester, where his party was strong enough: and sir Thomas Middleton, having kept his rendezvous, came thither to him, and brought strength enough with him to keep those parts at their devotion, and to suppress all who had inclination to oppose them.

39. Then they published their Declaration, rather against those who called themselves the Parliament and usurped the government by the power of the army, than owning directly the King's interests; and desiring well affected men of all conditions, especially the city of London, to join with them, in order to the calling a free Parliament, for settling the government of the nation in Church and State, to the determinations whereof they would willingly submit, and lay down their arms; with those expressions which they knew would be most acceptable to the Presbyterians, but giving all countenance and reception, and all imaginable assurance, to the King's party, who had all direction from the King to concur and to unite themselves to them.

40. What disappointments soever there were in other places, the fame of this action of these two gentlemen raised the spirits of all men. And they who were at liberty renewed their former designs; and they who could not promise themselves places of refuge prepared themselves to march to Chester, if sir George Booth did not draw nearer with his army; which in truth he meant to have done, if the appointments which had been made had been observed. But when he heard that all other places failed, and of the multitude of persons imprisoned,

1659 upon whose assistance he most depended, he was in great apprehension that he had begun the work too soon; and though his numbers increased every day, he thought it best to keep the post he was in, till he knew what was like to be done elsewhere.

41. This fire was kindled in a place which the Parliament least suspected, and therefore they were the more alarmed at the news of it, and knew it would spread far if it were not quickly quenched; and they had now too soon use of their army, in which they had not confidence. There were many officers whom they had much rather trust than Lambert, but there was none they thought could do their business so well;
- Aug. 5. so they made choice of him to march with such troops as he liked, and with the greatest expedition, to suppress this new rebellion, which they saw had many friends. They had formerly sent for two regiments out of Ireland, which they knew more devoted to the republican interest, and those they appointed Lambert to join with. He undertook the charge very willingly, being desirous to renew his credit with the soldiers, who had loved to be under his command, because, though he was strict in discipline, he provided well for them, and was himself brave upon any action. He cared to take nothing with him that might hinder his march, which he resolved should be very swift, to prevent the increase of the enemy in numbers. And he did make incredible haste; so that sir George Booth found he was [with]in less than a day's march before he thought he could have been half the way. Sir George himself had not been acquainted with the war, and the officers who were with him were not of one mind or humour; yet all were desirous to fight, (the natural infirmity of the nation, which could never endure the view of an enemy without engaging in a battle,) and instead of retiring into the town, which they might have defended against a much greater army than Lambert had with him longer than he could stay before it,
- Aug. 19. they marched to meet him, and were after a short encounter routed by him, and totally broken, so that the next day the gates of Chester were opened to him; sir George Booth himself

making his flight in a disguise, but was taken upon the way¹, 1659 and sent prisoner to the Tower. Aug. 24.

42. Lambert prosecuted the advantage he had got, and marched into North Wales, whither sir Thomas Middleton was retired with his troops to a strong castle of his own²; and he thought neither the man nor the place were to be left behind him. But it was to no purpose for one man to oppose a whole kingdom, where all other persons appeared subdued. And therefore, after a day or two making show of resistance, he made such conditions as he could obtain, and suffered his Aug. 24. goodly house for the strength of the situation to be pulled down.

43. And this success put an end to all endeavours of force in England; and the army had nothing to do but to take all persons prisoners whose looks they did not like, so that all prisons in England were filled; whilst the Parliament, exalted with their conquest, consulted what persons they would execute, and how they should confiscate the rest; by means thereof they made no doubt they should destroy all seeds of future insurrections on the behalf of the King, most of the nobility being at present in custody. And they resolved, if other evidence was wanting, that their suspicion should be their conviction.

44. When the King came to Calice, where he received account every day from England what was transacted there, as he was much troubled with the news he received daily of the imprisonment of his friends, so he was revived with the fame of sir George Booth's being possessed of Chester, and of the conjunction between him and Middleton. And they were reported to be in a much better posture than in truth they were; and the expectation of some appearance of troops in Lincoln[shire] and Yorkshire stood fair; whereupon the King resolved to go himself to some other part of France, from whence he might securely transport himself into those parts of

¹ [At Newport Pagnell, Aug. 23, 'in the habit of a gentlewoman;'
Mercur. Polit., No. 584, p. 690.]

² [Chirk, in Denbighshire.]

1659 England from whence with least hazard he might join himself with the troops which were in arms for him; and so went to the coast of Brittany¹.

45. The duke of York remained at Bullyn [Boulogne] to expect some appearance of arms in Kent and Essex, which was still promised, as soon as the army should be drawn farther from London. And in this expectation his royal highness found an opportunity to confer with his old friend marshal Turyn, who very frankly assigned him some troops, and likewise provided vessels to transport them, if an opportunity had invited him to an engagement in any probable enterprise; and this with so much generosity and secrecy, that the cardinal should have had no notice of the preparation till it was too late to prevent the effect thereof. But it pleased God, that, whilst he was providing for his longed for expedition, and when the King, after his visiting St. Malloes, was at Rochell², in hope to find a convenience for his transportation, the fatal news arrived in all parts of the defeat of sir George Booth, and of the total and entire suppression of all kind of opposition to the power of the Parliament; which seemed to be in as absolute possession of the government of the three nations as ever Cromwell had been.

46. Struck with this dismal relation, they had nothing to do but to make what haste they could back to Bruxells, and were obliged to use more than ordinary caution to get themselves out of France again, where they could not be found with Sept. safety. The duke of York, being much nearer, came thither Dec. 26³. first; and shortly after the King returned, less dejected than might have been expected from the extreme despair of his condition, which was discernible in everybody's countenance, insomuch as some persons had advised the King to make a journey himself into Spain, to solicit more powerful supplies, and to make Germany his way; to which his majesty himself was not uninclined, preferring any peregrination before the neglect he

¹ [He left Rennes in Bretagne on Aug. 19. *Calend. Dom. S. P.*, 1659-60, p. 149.]

² [He was at Rochelle on Sept. 22. *Ib.*, p. 227.]

³ [See note to § 73.]

was sure to find at Bruxells and the dry looks of the Spaniards; 1659 who were broken into so many factions amongst themselves that the government was hardly in a state to subsist; and the marquis of Caracena and don Alonso had such an influence upon the counsels at Madrid, that don Juan received orders without delay to return to Spain, and to leave the government in the hands of the marquis of Caracena, which he very unwillingly obeyed; and as soon as he could obtain a pass to go through France, he left those provinces, and made his journey through that kingdom towards Madrid. He was a person of a small stature, but well made, and of great vivacity in his looks; his parts very good, natural and acquired, in fancy and judgment. And if he had not been restrained by his education, and accustomed to the pride and forms of a Spanish breeding, which likewise disposed him to laziness and music, he was capable of any great employment, and would have discharged it well.

47¹. It was a great blessing of God that this melancholic conjuncture happened in the winter, that men could not execute all the thoughts and purposes the unhappy state of affairs suggested to them. The King could not make his journey through Germany till the spring, and in the mean time many men thought of providing a religion as well as other conveniences for their journey, and that might be grateful to those people and places where and with whom they were like to reside. The Protestant religion was found to be very unagreeable to their fortune, and very many exercised their thoughts most how to get handsomely from it; and if it had not been for the King's own steadiness, which was very manifest, men would have been more out of countenance to have owned the faith they were of; and many made little doubt but that it would shortly be very manifest to the King that his restoration depended wholly upon a conjunction of Catholic princes, who could never be united but on the behalf of Catholic religion.

¹ [This section has hitherto been transposed, without any direction in the MS., to take the place of § 74.]

1659 48. At this time an accident happened, that, as it was new, administered new hopes to raise the King's spirits, and for men to exercise their thoughts with variety of conjectures. The war had now continued between the two Crowns of France and Spain for near the space of thirty years, to the scandal and reproach of Christianity, and in spite of all the interposition and mediation of most of the princes of Europe; a war wantonly entered into, without the least pretence of right and justice, to comply (besides the natural animosity which will always be between the two nations) with the pride and humour of the two favourites of the Crowns, who would try the mastery of their wit and invention at the charge of their masters' treasure and the blood of their subjects, against all the obligations of leagues and alliances; a war prosecuted only for war sake, with all the circumstances of fire, sword, and rapine, to the consumption of millions of treasure, and millions of lives of noble, worthy, and honest men, only to improve the skill and mystery and science of destruction. All which appeared the more unnatural and the more monstrous, that this seemed to be effected and carried on by the power of a brother and a sister against each other, (for half the time had been spent in the regency of the Queen of France,) when they both loved and tendered each other's good and happiness, as the best brother and sister ought to do.

49. It was high time to put an end, and to kill this barbarous cruel war, which the Queen had long and passionately desired in vain. But now being more struck in years, and troubled with the infirmities of age, and the young King being of years ripe to marry, and the Infanta of Spain being in that and all other respects the most competent match for him, which would be the best, and was the only expedient to procure a peace, her majesty resolved to employ all her interest and authority to bring it to pass; and knowing well all her desires could produce no effect if she had not the full concurrence of the cardinal, she proposed it with all the warmth and all the concernment such a subject required to him, conjuring him, by all the good offices she had performed towards him,

that he would not only consent to it, but take it to heart, and 1659 to put it into such a way of negotiation that it might arrive at such an issue as she desired.

50. The cardinal used all the arguments he could to dissuade her majesty from desiring it at this time; that he was not able to bear the reproach, (nor could it be for her majesty's service,) of being the instrument of making a peace at a time that Spain was reduced to those straits that it could no longer resist the victorious arms of France; that they could not fail the next summer of being possessed of Bruxells itself, and then they should not be long without the rest; and therefore at this time to propose a peace, which must disappoint them of so sure a conquest, would not only be very ingrateful to the army, but incense all good Frenchmen against him and against her majesty herself.

51. The Queen was not diverted from her purpose by those arguments, but proposed it to the King, and prosecuted it with the cardinal, that, as himself confessed to his intimate friends, he was necessitated either to consent to it, or to have an irrecoverable breach with her, which his gratitude would not suffer him to choose; and thereupon he yielded; and don Anthonio Pimentell from Madrid, and monsieur de Leon [Lionne] from France, so negotiated this winter in both Courts, both *incognito*, making several journeys backward and forward, and with that effect, that by the end of the winter it was published, that there would be a treaty between the two Crowns, and that in the beginning of the summer [of 1659,] the two favourites, cardinal Mazaryne and don Lewis de Haro, would meet, and make a treaty both for the peace and for the marriage. And the marshal de Grammont was sent from the King to demand the Infanta, who, when he came to Alcovendas, a place within two leagues of Madrid, left his train there, and rode as by post, only with a valet de chambre, and alighted at the palace, and went presently up to the King to demand the Infanta; and so returned to Alcovendas, and afterwards made his entry as ambassador.

52. The cardinal was the sooner induced to this peace by

1659 the unsettled condition of England. The death of Cromwell, with whom he had concerted many things to come, had much perplexed him; yet the succession of Richard, under the advice of the same persons who were trusted by the father, pleased him well. But the throwing him out with such circumstances broke all his measures. And he could not forget that the Parliament that now governed were the very same men who had eluded all his application, appeared ever more inclined to the Spanish side, and had, without any colour of provocation, and when he believed they stood fair towards France, taken the French fleet, when it could not but relieve Dunkirk; by which that town was delivered up to the Spaniard. He knew well that Spain did at that instant use all the underhand means they could to make a peace with them; and he did not believe that the Parliament would affect the continuance of that war at so vast a charge both at sea and land, but that they would rather foment the divisions in France, and unite the prince of Condé and the Huguenots, which would make a concussion in that kingdom; and he should then have cause to repent the having put Dunkirk into the hands of the English. These reflections disturbed him, and disposed him to believe, over and above the benefit of gratifying the Queen, that he should best provide for the security of France and of himself by making a peace with Spain.

53. However, he was not so sure of bringing it to pass as to provoke or neglect England. Therefore he renewed all the promises he had formerly made to Oliver again to Lockhart, (who was the ambassador now of the republic,) that he would never make a peace without the consent and inclusion of England; and very earnestly desired him, and writ to the Parliament, that he might be at the treaty with him, that so they might still consult what would be best for their joint interest, from which he would never separate; insinuating unto him, in broken and half sentences, that though the treaty was necessary to satisfy the Queen, there were so many difficulties in view that he had little hope of a peace. And in truth, many sober men did not believe the treaty would ever produce

a peace: for, besides the great advantages which France had ¹⁶⁵⁹ gotten, and that it could not be imagined that Spain would ever consent to the relinquishing all those important places to the French which they had then in their hands by conquest, (the usual effect of peace being a restitution of all places taken in the war, which France would never permit,) there were two particulars which men could find no expedients to compose, and which, notwithstanding all the preparations made by de Leon and Pimentell, were entirely reserved for the treaty to the two favourites; both sides having with great obstinacy protested against [departing¹] from the resolution they had taken.

54. The two particulars were, Portugal and the prince of Condé. There could not be greater engagements than France had made to Portugal never to desert it, nor to make a peace without providing that that King should quietly enjoy his government, to him and his posterity, without being in the least degree subject to the yoke of Spain. And Spain was principally induced to buy a peace upon hard terms, that it might be at liberty to take revenge of Portugal; which they always reckoned they should be able to do within one year, if they had no other enemy upon them; and they would never value any peace, if that were not entirely left to them, and disclaimed by France.

55. On the other hand, the prince of Condé had the King of Spain's word and obligation, by the most solemn treaty that could be entered into, that he would never conclude a peace without including him, and all who adhered to him, not only to a full restitution to their honours, offices, and estates, but with some farther recompense for the great service he had done, which was very great indeed: and nobody believed that the cardinal would ever consent to the restoration of that prince, who had wrought him so many calamities, and brought him to the brink of destruction. With these ill presages, great preparations were made for this treaty, and the time and the place were agreed on, when and where the two great favourites

¹ ['deporting,' MS.]

1659 should meet. Fuentarabia, a place in the Spanish dominions, and very near the borders of France, the same place where
 1526 Francis the First was delivered after his long imprisonment in Spain, was agreed upon for their interview. A little river in that place, parting both the kingdoms, and a little building of boards over it, brought the favourites to meet, without either of [them]¹ going out of his master's dominions.

56. The fame of this treaty yielded variety, and new matter to the King to consider of. Both Crowns had made the contention and war that was between them the only ground and reason why they did not give him that assistance which in a case so nearly relating to themselves he might well expect, and both had made many professions that when it should please God to release them from that war, they would manifest to the world that they took the King's case to be their own; so that his majesty might very reasonably promise himself some advantage and benefit from this peace, and the world could not but expect that he would have some ambassador present to solicit on his behalf. There were so many difficulties to find a fit person, and so many greater to defray the expense of an ambassador, that his majesty resolved to find himself present in that treaty; which resolution he kept very private, though he was shortly after confirmed in it by a letter from sir H. Bennet; by which he was informed, that he speaking with don Lewis about his journey to Fuentarabia, and asking him whether he would give him leave to wait on him thither, don Lewis answered, that he should do well to be present, and then asked him why the King himself would not be there? and two or three days after, he told him, that if the King, with a very light train, came *incognito* thither, (for the place could not permit them to receive him in state,) after the great difficulties in the treaty were over, he would do all he could to induce the cardinal to concur in what might be of convenience to his majesty. He [the King] had before resolved to have a very little train with him, suitable to the treasure he had to defray his expenses, and to make his whole journey *incognito*, and

¹ ['their,' MS.]

not to be known in any place through which he was to pass. 1659
 But he was troubled what he was to do with reference to France, through which he was necessarily to make his journey. How much *incognito* soever he meant to travel, it might be necessary against any accident to have a pass; yet to ask one and be refused would be worse than going without one. Though he expected much less from the nature and kindness of the cardinal than from the sincerity of don Lewis de Haro, yet the former was able to do him much more good than the latter; and therefore care was to be taken that he might have no cause to find himself neglected, and that a more dependence upon Spain might not irreconcile France.

57. To extricate himself out of these perplexities, his majesty writ to the Queen his mother, to desire her, as of herself, June 28¹. to desire the cardinal's advice, whether it would not be fit for the King to be present at the treaty; that she might send his majesty such counsel as was proper: if he thought well of it, she might then propose passes, as should seem reasonable to her. Her majesty accordingly took an opportunity to ask the question of the cardinal, who, at the very motion, told her very warmly that it was by no means fit, and that it would do the King much harm; and afterwards, recollecting himself, he wished the Queen to let the King know that he should rely upon him to take care of what concerned him; which he would not fail to do, as soon as he discerned that the treaty would produce a peace. Her majesty acquiesced with the profession, and sent the King word how kind the cardinal was to him, but would by no means that his majesty should think of undertaking such a journey himself²; nor did the Queen imagine that the King would ever think of it without a pass and the cardinal's approbation.

58. When his majesty had received this account from his mother, he saw it was to no purpose to think of a pass. Nor would he depart from his former resolution, but concealed his

¹ [Draft by Hyde of the letter among the Clarendon MSS.]

² [See letter from lord Jermyn to the King of July 11; *Clar. S. P.*, iii. 523.]

1659 purpose; and when he was fully advertised that the favourites were met, and computed that they were well entered upon their treaty, in the very entrance into which they concluded a cessation of arms, so that all was quiet in Flanders, in the month of July, the King, attended only by the marquis of Ormonde, the earl of Bristol, and two or three other servants, (though sir H. Bennet had informed his majesty that don Lewis de Haro had particularly desired that he would not bring that earl with him; and who, in respect of his language, the King Aug. 1st believed would be very convenient,) left Bruxells *incognito*, being in truth not known there to be gone till many days after. Since he had now more reason than ever to conceal himself in his journey, and really to apprehend being stopped if he were discovered, and therefore was not to go by Paris, or any of those roads where he had been heretofore known, he allowed himself the more time, that he might in his compass see those parts of France where he had never been before, and indeed give himself all the pleasure and divertisement that such a journey would admit. And to that purpose he appointed the earl of Bristol to be the guide, who knew most of France, at least more than any body else did, and who always delighted to go out of the way, and Daniel O'Neale to take care that they always fared well in their lodging, for which province no man was fitter. And thus they wheeled about by Lyons into Languedock, and were so well pleased with the varieties in the journey that they not enough remembered the end of it, taking their information of the progress in the treaty from the intelligence they met in the way.

59. When they came near Tholose [Toulouse] they found that the French Court was there, which they were obliged to decline². However, the King, going himself a nearer way, sent the marquis of Ormonde thither³, to inform himself of the true state of the treaty, and to meet his majesty again at a place

¹ [See § 35.]

² [The King 'parted from Tholouse' on Oct. 7; letter from Nicholas in Carte MS. ccxiii, (Bodl. Libr.) f. 401.]

³ [He was there on Oct. 12. Carte MS. xxx, f. 489.]

appointed that was the direct way to Fuentarabia. The mar-quis went alone without a servant, that he might be the less suspected; and when he came to Tholose, he was informed from the common discourse of the Court that the treaty was upon the matter concluded, and that the cardinal was expected there within less than a week.

60. It was very true all matters of difficulty were over, in less time than was conceived possible: both parties equally desired the marriage, which could never be without the peace. The cardinal, who had much the advantage over don Lewis in all the faculties which are necessary for a treaty, excepting probity, and punctuality in observing what he promised, had used all the arts imaginable to induce don Lewis to yield both in the point of Portugal and what related to the prince of Condé and his party. He enlarged upon the desperate estate in which Flanders was, and that they could possess themselves entirely of it in one *campaña*; and therefore it might easily be concluded, that nothing but the Queen's absolute authority could in such a conjuncture have disposed the King to a treaty; and he hoped that she should not be so ill requited as to be obliged to break the treaty, or to oblige the King her son to consent to what was indispensably against his honour: that if he should recede from the interest of Portugal, no prince or state would hereafter enter into alliance with him: that though they were bound to insist to have Portugal included in the peace, yet he would be contented that a long truce might be made, and all acts of hostility forborne for a good number of years, which was necessary for Spain, that they might recover the fatigue of the long war they had sustained before they entered into a new [one:] if they would not consent to that, that Portugal should be left out of the peace, and Spain at liberty to prosecute the war, and France at the same [time] to assist Portugal, which, he said, in respect of the distance, they should never be able to administer in such a proportion as would be able to preserve it from their conquest; not without insinuation, that, so they might not renounce the promise they had made, they would not be over solicitous to perform it. As to the prince of Condé,

1059 that the Catholic King was now to look upon France as the dominion of his son-in-law, and to be inherited by his grandson, and therefore he would consider what peril it might bring to both if the prince of Condé were restored to his greatness in that kingdom, who could only disturb the peace of it, and whose ambition was so restless that they could no longer enjoy peace than whilst he was not in a condition to interrupt it. He [the cardinal] told him in confidence of several indignities offered by the prince of Condé to the person of the Queen, of which her brother ought to be very sensible, and which would absolve him from any engagement he had entered into with that prince; which he would never have done, if his majesty had been fully informed of those rude transgressions. And therefore he besought don Lewis that the joy and triumph which the King and the Queen would be possessed of by this peace and marriage might not be clouded, and even rendered disconsolate, by their being bound to behold a man in their presence who had so often, and with so much damage and disdain, affronted them both; but that the peace of France might be secured by that prince's being for ever restrained from living in it; which being provided for, whatsoever his Catholic majesty should require in ready money or pensions, to enable the prince to live in his just splendour abroad, should be consented to.

61. Don Lewis de Haro was a man of a great temper, of a sallow complexion, hypochondriac, and never weary of hearing; thought well of what he was to say; and what he wanted in acuteness he made up in wariness, and though he might omit the saying somewhat he had a good occasion to say, he never said any thing of which he had occasion to repent. He had a good judgment and understanding, and as he was without any talent of rhetoric, so he was very well able to defend himself from it. He told the cardinal, that he knew well that his master's affairs needed a peace with France, and that the accomplishing this marriage was the only way to attain to it; that the marriage, being the best and the most honourable in Christendom, ought¹ to be equally desired on both sides; that

¹ ['and ought,' MS.]

his Catholic majesty was sensible of his own age and the infirmities which attended it, and desired nothing more than that before his death he might see this peace and this marriage finished and made perfect; and that he was well content to purchase the former at any price but of his honour, which was the only thing he preferred even before peace. That for Portugal, the groundless rebellion was so well known to all the world, that he should not go to his grave in peace if he should do any thing which might look like a countenance or concession to that title that was only founded upon treason and rebellion, or if he should omit the doing any thing that might, with God's blessing, of which he could not doubt, reduce that kingdom to their duty and his obedience: that his resolution was, as soon as this peace should be concluded, to apply all the force and all the treasure of his dominions to the invasion of Portugal, which he hoped would be sufficient speedily to subdue it; which was a great part of the fruit which he promised himself from this peace, and therefore would never permit any thing to be included in it that might leave France at liberty to assist that war. That the King had done all he could, both by don Antonio de Pimentell and monsieur de Leon, that his most Christian majesty might know his unalterable resolution in the point of Portugal, and with reference to the prince of Condé, before the treaty was consented to; and that he would never depart from what he had declared in either: that he had made a treaty with the prince of Condé, by which he had engaged himself never to desert his interest, nor to make a peace without providing for his full restitution and reparation, and [of] those who had run his fortune and put themselves under his protection: that the prince had performed all that he had undertaken to do, and had rendered very great service to his Catholic majesty, who would not only rather lose Flanders but his crown likewise than fail in any particular which he was bound to make good to the prince: and therefore he desired the cardinal to acquiesce in both these particulars, from which he should not recede in a tittle; in others, he should not have the same obstinacy.

1659 62. When the cardinal found that all his art and eloquence were lost upon don Lewis' want of politeness, and that he could not bend him in the least degree in either of those important particulars, he resolved they should pay otherwise for their idol honour and punctuality; and after he had brought him to consent to the detention of all the places they had taken, as well in Luxemburgh as Flanders and all other provinces, by which they dismembered all the Spanish dominions in those parts, and kept themselves nearer neighbours to the Hollanders than the other desired they should be, he compelled them, though a thing very foreign to the treaty, to deliver the town [of] Juliers to the duke of Newburgh, without the payment of any money which they had laid out upon the fortifications, and which they could otherwise claim. It is very true that town did belong of right to the duke of Newburgh, as part of the duchy of Juliers, which was descended to him; but it is as true that it was preserved by Spain from being possessed by the Hollanders, many years before, and by treaty to remain in their hands till they should receive satisfaction for all their disbursements; after which time they erected the citadel there, and much mended the fortifications. And this dependence and expectation had kept that prince fast to all the Spanish interest in Germany; whereas, by the wresting it now out of their hands, and frankly giving it up to the true owner, they got the entire devotion of the duke of Newburgh to France, and so a new friend to strengthen their alliance upon the Rhine, which was before inconvenient enough to Spain, by stopping the resort of any German succours into Flanders. And if at any time to come the French should purchase Juliers from the duke of Newburgh, as upon many accidents he may be induced to part with it, they will be possessed of the most advantageous post to facilitate their enterprises upon Liege or Cullen, or to disturb the Hollanders in Masticke, or to seize upon Aquisgrane, an imperial town, and indeed to disturb the peace of Christendom.

63. For Portugal, it was agreed that there should not be any mention of it in the whole treaty, which the French ingenuity thought could never be called a renouncing it; though there

were other expressions in the articles so binding, that they 1659 could not only not send them any relief or assistance, but that restrained them from sending any ambassador to them, or receiving one from them.

64. To the prince of Condé all things were yielded which had been insisted on, and full recompense made to such of his party as could not be restored to their offices, as president Viole, and some others: yet don Lewis would not sign the treaty till he had sent an express to the prince of Condé to inform him of all the particulars, and had received his full approbation. And even then, the King of Spain caused a great sum of money to be paid to him, that he might discharge all the debts which he had contracted in Flanders, and reward his officers who were to be disbanded; a method France did not use at the same time to their proselytes, but left Catalonia to the King's chastisement, without any provision made for don Joseph de Margarita, and others, who had been the principal contrivers of those disturbances, and were left to eat the bread of France; where it is administered to them very sparingly, without any hope of ever seeing their native country again, except they make their way thither by fomenting a new rebellion.

65. When all things were concluded, and the engrossments preparing, the cardinal came one morning into don Lewis his chamber with a sad countenance, and told him they had lost all their pains, and the peace could not be concluded. At which don Lewis, in much disturbance, asked what the matter was. The cardinal very composedly answered, that it must not be; that they two were too good Catholics to do any thing against the Pope's infallibility, which would be called in question by this peace, since his holiness had declared that there would be no peace made; as indeed he had done, after he had from the first hour of his pontificate laboured it for many years, and found himself still deluded by the cardinal, who had yet promised him that when the season was ripe for it he should have the sole power to conclude it; so that when he heard that the two favourites were to meet, of which he had no notice, he

1659 said in the consistory that he was sure that cardinal Mazaryne would not make a peace. Don Lewis was glad that there was no other objection against it; and so all the company made themselves merry at the Pope's charge.

66. When the marquis of Ormonde discovered, by the information he received at Tholose, that the treaty was so near an end, he made all possible haste to the place that the King had appointed to meet at, that his majesty might lose no more time. But when he came thither, he found nobody; which he imputed to the usual delays in their journey, and stayed one whole day in expectation of them; but then concluded that they were gone forward some other way, and so thought it his business to hasten to Fuentarabia, where he heard nothing of the King. Sir H. Bennet was in great perplexity, and complained very reasonably that the King neglected his own business in such a conjuncture, the benefit whereof was lost by his not coming. Don Lewis seemed troubled that the King had not come thither whilst the cardinal and he were together.

Sept. 15¹. The treaty was now concluded; and though the cardinal remained still at his old quarters on the French side, under some indisposition of the gout, yet he and don Lewis were to meet no more. And don Lewis was the less troubled that the King had not come sooner, because he had found the cardinal, as often as he had taken occasion to speak of the King, very cold and reserved, and had magnified the power of the Parliament, and seemed to think his majesty's hopes desperate; and advised don Lewis to be wary how he embarked himself in an affair that had no foundation, and that it was rather time for all Catholics to unite to the breaking the power and interest of the heretical party, wherever it was, than to strengthen it by restoring the King, except he would become Catholic. And it is believed by wise men that in that treaty somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the Protestant interest; and that in a short time there would have been much done against

¹ [On this day the articles of the treaty were settled, although it was not formally signed until Nov. 7.]

[it]¹ both in France and Germany, if the measures they had 1659 taken had not been shortly broken.

67. During the whole time of the treaty, Lockhart had been at Bayon[ne], and frequently consulted with the cardinal, and was by him brought twice or thrice to don Lewis, where they spake of the mutual benefit that would redound to both, if a peace were settled between Spain and England. But the cardinal treated Lockhart (who was in all other occasions too hard for him) in such a manner, that, till the peace was upon the matter concluded, he did really believe that it would not be made, (as appeared by some of his letters from Bayon[ne], which fell into the King's hands,) and to the last he was persuaded that England should be comprehended in it in terms to its satisfaction.

68. The King, the next day after he had sent the marquis of Ormonde to Tholose, received information upon the way that the treaty was absolutely ended, and that don Lewis was returned to Madrid; to which giving credit, he concluded that it would be to no purpose to prosecute his journey to Fuentarabia, and therefore was easily persuaded by the earl of Bristol to take the nearest way to Madrid, by entering into Spain as soon as they could, presuming that the marquis of Ormonde would quickly conclude whither they were gone, and follow his majesty. And with this resolution, and upon this intelligence, they continued their journey till they came to Zaragoza, the metropolis of the kingdom of Arragon. Here they received advertisement that the treaty was not fully concluded, and that don Lewis remained still at Fuentarabia. This was a new perplexity: at last they resolved that the King and the earl of Bristol, who had still a mind to Madrid, should stay at Zaragoza, until O'Neale should go to Fuentarabia and return with direction what course they were to steer.

69. Don Lewis and the marquis of Ormonde were in great confusion with the apprehension that some ill accident had befallen the King, when Mr. O'Neale arrived, and informed them by what accident and misintelligence the King had re-

¹ ['them,' MS.]

- 1659 solved to go to Madrid, if he had not been better informed at Zaragoza; where he now remained till he should receive farther advice. Don Lewis was in all the disturbance imaginable when he heard the relation, and concluded that this was a trick of the earl of Bristol's; that he held some intelligence with don Juan, and intended to carry the King to Madrid, whilst he [don Lewis] was absent, with a purpose to affront him, and in hope to transact somewhat without his privity. They were now to save and to borrow all the money they could to defray the expenses which must be shortly made for the interview, marriage, and delivery of the Infanta, and all this must be spent upon the King's entry and entertainment in Madrid; for a king *incognito* was never heard of in Spain. The marriage was concluded, and now a young unmarried king must be received and caressed in that Court; which would occasion much discourses both in Spain and France. All these things his melancholy¹ made him revolve, nor did he conceal the trouble he endured from the marquis of Ormonde and sir H. Bennet; who assured him that all that was past was by mere mistake, and without any purpose to decline him, upon whose friendship alone the King absolutely depended; and undertook positively, that as soon as his majesty should be informed of his advice he² would make all the haste thither he could, without thought of doing any thing else: which don Lewis desired might be effected as soon as was possible: so O'Neale returned to Zaragoza, and his majesty without delay
- Oct. 27³. made his journey from thence to Fuentarabia, with as much expedition as he could use.
- Oct. 28⁴. 70. The King was received according to the Spanish mode and generosity, and treated with the same respect and reverence that could be shewed to his Catholic majesty himself if he had been in that place. Don Lewis delivered all that could be said from the King, [his master;] how much he was troubled, that the condition of his affairs, and the necessity that was

¹ ['melancholique,' MS., and so in other places.]

² ['that he,' MS.]

³ [Carte MS. cxxiii, f. 330.]

⁴ [Clar. S. P., iii. 596.]

upon him to make shortly a long journey, would not permit ¹⁶⁵⁹ him to invite his majesty to Madrid, and to treat him in that manner as was suitable to his grandeur: that having happily concluded the peace, he had now nothing so¹ much in his thoughts, as how he might be able to give or procure such assistance as his majesty stood in need of; and that he should never be destitute of any thing that his power and interest could help him to. Don Lewis for himself made all those professions which could possibly be expected from him. He confessed that there was no provision made in the treaty that the two Crowns would jointly assist his majesty, but that he believed the cardinal would be ready to perform all good offices towards him, and that, for his own particular, his majesty should receive good testimony of the profound veneration he had for him.

71. Don Lewis intimated a wish that his majesty could yet have some conference with the cardinal, who was, as is said, still within distance. Whereupon the King sent the marquis of Ormonde to visit him, and to let him know that his majesty ^{Nov. 12.} had a desire to come to him, that he might have some conference with him, and receive his counsel and advice. But the cardinal would by no means admit it; said it would administer unseasonable jealousy to the Parliament, without any manner of benefit to the King. He made many large professions, which he could do well, of his affection to the King; desired he would have patience till the marriage should be over, which would be in the next spring; and till then their majesties must remain in those parts: but as soon as that should be despatched, the whole Court would return to Paris; and that he would not be long there before he gave the King some evidence of his kindness and respect. And other answer than this the marquis could not obtain.

72. After his majesty had stayed as long as he thought convenient at Fuentarabia, (for he knew well that don Lewis was to return to Madrid before the King [of Spain] could take any resolution to begin or order his own journey, and

¹ ['too,' MS.]

1659 that he stayed there only to entertain his majesty,) he discerned that he had nothing more to do than to return to Flanders; where he was assured his reception should be better than it had been. So he declared his resolution to begin his return upon such a day. In the short time of his stay there, the earl of Bristol, according to his excellent talent, which seldom failed him in any exigent, from as great a prejudice as could attend any man, had wrought himself so much into the good graces of all the Spaniards, that don Lewis was willing to take him with him to Madrid, and that he should be received into the service of his Catholic majesty in such a province as should be worthy of him. So that his majesty had a very small train to return with, the marquis of Ormonde, Daniel O'Neale, and two or three other servants.

73. Don Lewis, with a million of excuses that their expenses had been so great as had wasted all their money, presented his majesty with seven thousand gold pistoles, to defray, as he said, the expenses of his journey, with assurance that when he came into Flanders he should find all necessary orders for his better accommodation, and carrying on his business. And
 Nov. 17¹. so his majesty began his journey, and took Paris in his way
 Dec. 10². to visit the Queen his mother, with whom a good understanding was made upon all former mistakes: and towards the end
 Dec. 26³. of December he returned to Bruxells in good health, where he found his two brothers, the dukes of York and Gloster, impatiently expecting him.

74⁴. The pleasure and variety of his journey, and the very civil treatment he had received from don Lewis, with the good disposition he had left the Queen his mother in, had very much revived and refreshed the King's spirits, and the joy for his return dispersed the present clouds. But he had not been long at Bruxells before he discerned the same melan-

¹ [*Clar. S. P.*, iii. 606.]

² [*Carte's Ormonde*, ii. 191, 194.]

³ [*Clar. S. P.*, iii. 636, and several other letters among the Clarendon MSS. But a letter from Nicholas in the State Paper Office says he came to Brussels on Saturday, Dec. 24. *Calend. Dom. S. P.*, 1659-60, p. 287.]

⁴ [The section formerly numbered 74 is now 47, that being its place in the MS.]

choly and despair in the countenances of most men which he 1660 had left there; and though there had some changes happened in England which might reasonably encourage men to look for greater, men had been so often disappointed in those expectations, that it was a reproach to any man to think that any good could come from thence.

75. The best the King could look for seemed to be a permission to remain in Flanders, with a narrow assignation for his bread, which was a melancholic condition for a king; nor could that be depended upon; for there were secret approaches made both from England and Spain towards a peace; and the Spaniard had great reason to desire it, that he might meet with no obstruction in his intended conquest of Portugal. And what influence any peace might have upon his majesty's quiet might reasonably be apprehended. However, there being no war in Flanders, the dukes of York and Gloster could no longer remain in an unactive course of life; and the duke of York had a great family, impatient to be where they might enjoy plenty, and where they might be absent from the King. And therefore, when the marquis de Caracena at this time¹ brought the duke of York a letter from the King of Spain, that he would make him *el Admirante del Oceano*, his highness was exceedingly pleased with it, and those about him so transported with the promotion that they thought any man to be a declared enemy to their master who should make any objection against his accepting it. And when they were told that it was not such a preferment that the duke should so greedily embrace it, before he knew what conditions he should be subject to, and what he might expect from it; that the command had been in a younger son of the duke of Savoy, and at another time in a younger son of a duke of Florence, who both grew quickly weary of it; for whatever title they had, the whole command was in the Spanish officers who were under them; and that if the duke were there, he might possibly have a competent pension to live on shore, but would never be suffered to go to sea under any title of command till

¹ [on Tuesday, March 2, 1660.]

1660 he first changed his religion; all [this]¹ had no signification with them; but they prevailed with his royal highness to return his consent and acceptation of the office by the same courier who brought the letter.

76. The marquis Caracena likewise told the King that he had received orders to put all things in a readiness for his expedition into England, towards which he would add three thousand men to those troops which his majesty already had. At the same time the lord Jermin and Mr. Mountague came to the King from Paris, with many compliments from the cardinal, that when there should be a peace between the two northern kings, (for Sweden and Denmark were now in a war,) France would declare avowedly for the King; but in the mean time they could only assist the King underhand, and to that purpose they had appointed three thousand men to be ready on the borders of France, to be transported out of Flanders, and thirty thousand pistoles to be disposed of by the King to advance that expedition. Sir H. Bennet had sent from Madrid a copy of the Spanish orders to the marquis Caracena; by which he was not (as he told the King) to add three thousand men to the King's troops, but to make those which he had to amount to the number of three thousand. But that which was strangest, the King must be obliged to embark them in France. So that the men the cardinal would provide must be embarked in Flanders, and they who were to be supplied by Spain must be embarked in France. So that by these two specious pretences and proffers the King could only discern that they were both afraid of offending England, and would offer nothing of which his majesty could make any use, before they might take such a prospect of what was like to come to pass that they might new form their counsels. And the lord Jermin and Mr. Mountague had so little expectation of England, that they concurred both in opinion that the duke of York should embrace the opportunity that was offered from Spain, to which they made no doubt the Queen would give her consent.

77. And in this state of despair the King's condition was

¹ ['which,' MS.]

concluded to be at the end of March 1660; and though his 1660 majesty, and those few intrusted by him, had reason to believe that God would be more propitious to him, from some great alterations in England, yet such imagination was so looked upon as mere dotage that the King thought not fit to communicate the hopes he had, but left all men to cast about for themselves, till they were awakened and confounded by such a prodigious act of Providence as he hath scarce vouchsafed to any nation, since he led his own chosen people through the Red Sea.

78. After the defeat of Booth and Middleton, and the King's 1659 hopes so totally destroyed, the¹ Parliament thought of nothing but transporting those families into the Barbados and Jamaica, and other plantations, which might hereafter produce children of their fathers' affections, and by degrees to model their army that it might never give them more trouble. They had sent Aug. 23. Lambert a thousand pound to buy him a jewel; which he employed better by bestowing it amongst the officers, who might well deserve it of him. And this bounty of his was quickly known to the Parliament, which concluded that he intended to make a party in the army that should more depend upon him than upon them. And this put them in mind of his former behaviour, and that it was by his advice that they were first dissolved, and that he in truth had made Cromwell Protector, upon his promise that he should succeed him, and that he fell from him only because he had frustrated him of that expectation. And therefore they resolved to secure him from doing farther harm as soon as he should come to the town.

79. Lambert, instead of making haste to them, found some delays in his march, as if all were not safe, and to seize upon the persons of delinquents. He was well informed of their good purposes towards him, and knew that the Parliament intended to make a peace with all foreigners, and then to disband their army, except only some few regiments, which should consist only of persons at their own devotion. He foresaw what his portion must be, and that all the ill he had done towards them would be remembered and the good forgotten. He therefore

¹ ['that the,' MS.]

1659 contrived a petition, which was signed by the inferior officers of his army, in which they desired the Parliament that they might be governed, as all armies used to be, by a general who might be amongst them, and other officers, according to their qualities, subordinate to him.

80. The address was entitled, *The humble petition and proposals of the army, under the command of the lord Lambert, in the late northern expedition.* They made a large recapitulation of the many services they had done, which they thought were forgotten; and that now lately they had preserved them from an enemy, which, if they had been suffered to grow, would in a short time have overrun the kingdom, and engaged the nation in a new bloody war, to which too many men were still inclined; and concluded, that they would commit the army to Fleetwood as general, and that they would appoint Lambert to be major general. Fleetwood was a weak man, but very popular with all the praying part of the army, and a man whom the Parliament would have trusted if they had not resolved to have no general, being as confident of his fidelity to them as of any man; and Lambert knew well he could govern him as Cromwell had done Fayrefax, and then in like manner lay him aside. This petition was sent by some trusty person to some colonels of the army in whom Lambert had confidence, to the end that they should deliver it to Fleetwood, to be by him presented to the Parliament. He would first consult with some of his friends for their advice; and so it came to the notice of Haslerick, who immediately informed the Parliament of a rebellion growing in the army, which if not suppressed would undo all that they had done. They, as they were always apt to take alarums of that kind, would not have the patience to expect the delivery of the

Sept. 22. petition, but sent to Fleetwood for it. He answered, he had it not, but that he had delivered it to such an officer, whom he named. The officer was sent for, but could not be found.

Whereupon the Parliament, that they might discountenance
Sept. 23. and exclude any address of that kind, passed a vote, that the having more general officers was a thing needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the commonwealth.

81. This put the whole army into that distemper that Lam- 1659
bert could wish it [in,] and brought the council of officers to
meet again more avowedly than they had done since the reviv-
ing of the Parliament. They prepared a petition and repre-
sentation to the Parliament, in which they gave them many Oct. 5.
good words, and assured them of their fidelity towards them,
but yet that they would so far take care for their own preser-
vation that they would not be at the mercy of their enemies,
and implied that they had likewise privileges which they would
not quit.

82. The Parliament, that was governed by Vane and Hasle-
rigge, the heads of the repub[lican] party, though of very
different natures and understandings, found there would be no
compounding this dispute amicably, but that one side must be
suppressed. They resolved therefore to take away all hope of
subsistence from the army, if they should be inclined by force
to make any alteration in the government; and in order there-
unto they declared that it should be treason in any person Oct. 11.
whatsoever to raise, levy, and collect money without consent
in Parliament. Then they made void all Acts for custom and
excise; and by this there was nothing left to maintain the army
except they would prey upon the people, which could not hold
long. In the next place they cashiered Lambert, and eight Oct. 12.
other colonels of the army, with whom they were most offended,
and conferred the regiments upon other persons, in whom they
could confide, and committed the whole government of the army
into the hands of seven commissioners, who were, Fleetwood,
(whom they believed to have a great interest in the army, and
so durst not totally to disoblige,) Ludlow, (who commanded the
army in Ireland,) Munke, (who was their general in Scotland,)
Haslerigge, Walton, Morl[e]y, and Overton, who were all upon
the place.

83. The army was too far engaged to retire, and it was un-
skilfully done of the Parliament to provoke so many of them
without being sure of a competent strength to execute their
orders. But they had a great presumption upon the city, and
had already forgotten how the army baffled it a dozen year[s]

1659 before, when the Parliament had much more reputation and the army less terror. The nine cashiered colonels were resolved not to part with their commands, nor would the soldiers submit to their new officers; and both officers and soldiers consulted their affairs so well together, that they agreed to meet at Westminster the next morning, and determine to whose lot it would come to be cashiered.

84. The Parliament, to encounter this design, sent their orders to those regiments whose fidelity they were confident of, to be the next morning at Westminster, to defend them from force, and likewise sent into the city to draw down their militia.

Oct. 13. Of the army, the next morning, there appeared two regiments of foot and four troops of horse, who were well armed, and ranged themselves in the Palace-yard, with a resolution to oppose all force that should attempt the Parliament. Lambert intended they should have little to do there; and divided [his party in] the army to the several places by which the city militia could come to Westminster, with order that they should suffer none to march that way, or to come out of the gates; then placed himself with a troop or two in King Street, to expect when the Speaker would come to the House, who at his accustomed hour came in his usual state, guarded with his troop of horse. Lambert rode up to the Speaker, and told him there was nothing to be done at Westminster, and therefore advised him to return back again to his house, which he refused to do, and endeavoured to proceed, and called to his guard to make way. Upon which he [Lambert] rode to the captain, and pulled him off his horse; and bade major Creed, who had formerly commanded that troop, to mount into his saddle; which he presently did. Then he took away the mace, and bade major Creed conduct Mr. Lenthall to his house. Whereupon they made his coachman turn, and without the least contradiction the troop marched very quietly till he was alighted at his own house, and then disposed of themselves as their new captain commanded them.

85. When they had thus secured themselves from any more votes, Lambert sent to those in the Palace-yard to withdraw to

their quarters, which they refused to do ; at which he smiled, 1659 and bade them then to stay there ; which they did till towards the evening : but then finding themselves laughed at, that they had nothing to do, and that the Parliament sat not, they desired that they might retire to their quarters ; which they were appointed to do. But their officers were cashiered, and such sent to command as Lambert thought fit, who found all submission and obedience from the soldiers, though nobody yet knew who had power to command them. There was no Parliament, nor any officer in the army who by his commission was above the degree of colonel, nor had any of them power to command more than his own regiment.

86. Whereupon the officers of the army meet together, and Oct. 14. declare, that the army finding itself without a general, or other general officers, had themselves made choice of Fleetwood to be their general, and of Lambert to be their major general, and Oct. 18¹. of Desborough to be commissary general of the horse ; and that they bound themselves to obey them in their several capacities, and to adhere to and defend them. And upon the publishing this declaration they assumed their several provinces, and the Oct. 29. whole army took commissions from their new general, and were as much united as ever they were under Cromwell, and looked upon it as a great deliverance that they should no more be subject to the Parliament, which they all detested.

87. But these generals were not at ease, and knew well upon what slippery ground they stood. The Parliament had stopped all the channels in which the revenue was to run ; put an end to all payments of custom and excise ; and to revive these impositions, by which the army might receive their wages, required another authority than of the army itself. The divisions in the Parliament had made the outrage that was committed upon it less reproachful.

88. Vane, who was much the wisest man, found he could never make that assembly settle such a government as he affected, either in Church or State : and Haslerigge, who was of a rude and stubborn nature and of a weak understanding,

¹ [*Mercur. Polit.*, No. 591, p. 812 ; Oct. 17, Whitelocke's *Memorials*.]

1659 concurred only with him in all the fierce counsels which might more irrecoverably disinherit the King and root out his party. In all other matters relating to the temporal or ecclesiastical matters, they were not only of different judgments but of extraordinary animosity against each other, Vane being a man not to be described by any character of religion; in which he had swallowed some of the fancies and extravagances of every sect or faction, and was become (which cannot be expressed by any other language than was peculiar to that time) *a man above ordinances*, unlimited and unrestrained by any rules or bounds prescribed to other men, by reason of his perfection. He was a perfect enthusiast, and without doubt did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding, (which in all matters without the verge of religion was inferior to that of few men,) that he did at some time believe that he was the person deputed to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years.

89. Haslerigge was as to the State perfectly repub[lican], and as to religion perfectly Presbyterian; and so he might be sure never to be troubled with a king or a bishop, was indifferent to other things; only he believed the Parliament to be the only government that would infallibly keep those two out; and his credit in the House was greater than the other's; which made Vane less troubled at the violence that was used, though he would never advise it, and [he] appeared willing enough to confer and join with those who would find any other hinge to hang the government upon: and so he presently entered into conversation with those of the army who were most like to have authority.

90. A model of such a government as the people must acquiesce in and submit to would require very much agitation and very long time, which the present conjuncture would not bear, nor were there enough of one mind to give great authority
 Oct. 26. to their counsel. In this they could agree, which might be an expedient towards more ripe resolutions, that a number of persons should be chosen, who under the style of a *Committee of Safety* should assume the present entire government, and have full power to revive all such orders, or to make new, which

should be necessary for raising of money, or for doing any thing 1659
 else which should be judged for the peace and safety of the
 kingdom, and to consider and determine what form of govern-
 ment was fit to be erected to which the nation should submit.

91. To this new invention, how wild soever, they believed
 the people would be persuaded, with the assistance of the army,
 to pay a temporary obedience, in hope of another settlement
 speedily to ensue. They agreed that the number of this Com- Oct. 26.
 mittee of Safety should consist of three and twenty persons ; six
 officers of the army, whereof Fleetewood, Lambert, and Des-
 borough were three, Ireton, lord mayor of London, and Titch-
 borne, the two principal officers of the militia of the city, with
 four or five more of that *classis* of more private names, but men
 tried, and faithful to the repub[lican] interest, and not like to
 give any countenance to Presbyterians, (for they were very
 jealous of that party generally); three or four others, of those
 who had been the King's judges, with Vane, and Whitlocke, whom
 they made Keeper of their Great Seal.

92. And thus having chosen each other, and agreed that
 they should exercise the whole legislative power of the nation,
 and proclaimed themselves *The Committee of Safety for the king-* Oct. 29.
dom, and required all people to pay them obedience, and issued
 out their warrants for all things which they thought good for Oct. 31.
 themselves, to all which there appeared a general submission
 and acquiescence, and that they might be sure to receive no
 disturbance from those of their own tribe in any parts, the
 Committee of Safety¹ sent colonel Cobbett to Scotland, to per- Oct. 14².
 suade general Munke to a concurrence with them, and, because
 they were not confident of him, (there being great emulation
 between him and Lambert,) to work upon as many of his officers
 as he could, there being many in that army of whose affections
 they were well assured ; and at the same time they sent another
 colonel³ into Ireland, to dispose the army there to a submission
 to their power and authority.

¹ [The committee of the officers.]

² [*Mercur. Polit.*, No. 591, p. 812 ; Oct. 17, Whitlocke's *Memorials*.]

³ [col. Barrow.]

1659 93. Before the Parliament was routed they discerned what Lambert's intrigues would shortly produce, and therefore had writ to Munke that he would take care of his army, lest it was corrupted against him, which they knew was endeavouring; and Haslerigge, who had some friendship with him, writ particularly to him, to continue firm to the Parliament, and to assure him that before Lambert should be able to be near him to give him any trouble he would give him other divertisement. And as soon as Lambert had acted that violence upon the Speaker, so that they could meet no more, Haslerigge and Morl[e]y, two of the commissioners for the government of the army, went presently to Portsmouth, where colonel Whettam the governor was their friend, and devoted to the Presbyterian republical party; for that distinction was now grown amongst them, the most considerable of their party professing that they very much desired monarchical government and the person of the King, so that they might have him without episcopacy, and enjoy the lands of the

Dec. 4. Church, which they had divided amongst them. They were well received at Portsmouth; and that they might be without any disturbance there, the governor turned all such officers and soldiers out of the town who were suspected to be, or might be made, of the party of the army; and colonel Morl[e]y, whose interest was in Sussex, easily drew in enough of his friends to make them very secure in their garrison; which the Committee of Safety thought would be quickly reduced, if all the rest of the kingdom were at their devotion; nor did the matter itself much trouble them, for they knew that Haslerigge would never be induced to serve the King, whose interest could only break all their measures.

94. But that which gave them real trouble was, that they Oct. 29. received a bold letter from Munke¹, who presumed to censure and find fault with what they had done, in using such force and violence to the Parliament, from whence they had all their power and authority; and shortly after they heard that he had possessed himself of Barwick. But that which troubled them most was, that as soon as Cobbett came into Scotland he was com-

¹ [Dated Oct. 20.]

mitted close prisoner to Edenborough castle, and that Munke 1659 used extraordinary diligence to purge his army, and turned all the fanatics, and other persons who were supposed by him to have any inclination to Lambert and his party, both out of the army and the kingdom; sending them under a guard into Barwick, and from thence dismissed them into England, under the penalty of death if they were ever after found in Scotland. This was an alarm worthy of their fear, and evidence enough that they were never to expect him to be of their party; besides that they had always looked upon him as a person entirely devoted to the person of Cromwell; otherwise, without obligation to any party or opinion, and more like to be seduced by the King than any man who had authority in the three kingdoms. Therefore they resolved to send Lambert with their whole army into the north, that he might at least stop him in any march he should think of making; reserving only some troops to send to Portsmouth, if not to reduce it at least to hinder them from making incursions into the two neighbour counties of Sussex and Hampshire, where they had many friends. Oct. 29¹.

95. Whilst all preparations were making for the army to march towards Scotland, the Committee of Safety resolved once more to try if they could induce Munke to a conjunction with them; and to that purpose they sent a committee to him of such persons as they thought might be grateful to him², amongst whom was his wife's brother, with offers of any thing he could desire of advantage to himself or for any of his friends. He received these men with all imaginable civility and courtesy, making great professions that he desired nothing more than to unite himself and his army with that of England, so that there might be a lawful power to which they might all be subject; that the force that had been used upon the Parliament was an action of such a nature that was destructive to all government, and that it would be absolutely necessary to restore that to its freedom, rights, and privileges; which being done, he would use all the instance and credit he had to procure an Act of pardon Oct. 29.

¹ [Lambert began his journey on Nov. 3.]

² [Dr. Clarges and col. Talbot.]

1659 and oblivion for all that had been done amiss ; and this would unite both Parliament and army for the public safety, which was apparently threatened and shaken by this disunion ; that he so much desired peace and union, and so little thought of using force, that he had appointed three officers of his army, Nov. 4¹. Wilkes, Cloberry, and Knight, to go to London and treat with the Committee of Safety of all particulars necessary thereunto. When the committee from London gave an account of their reception, and of the great professions the general made, and his resolution to send a committee to treat upon the accommodation, the Committee of Safety was very well pleased, and concluded that the fame of their army's march had frightened him ; so that, as they willingly embraced the overture of a treaty, they likewise appointed Lambert to hasten his march, and to make no stay till he should come to Newcastle. All which he observed with great punctuality and expedition, his army still increasing till he came thither.

96. General Munke was a gentleman of a very good extraction, of a very ancient family in Devonshire, always very loyally affected. Being a younger brother he entered early into the life and condition of a soldier, upon that stage where all Europe then acted, between the Spaniard and the Dutch ; and had the reputation of a very good foot-officer in the lord Vere's regiment in Holland, at the time when he assigned it to the command of colonel Goring. When the first troubles began in Scotland, Munke, with many other officers of the nation, left the Dutch service, and betook themselves to the service of the King. And in the beginning of the Irish rebellion he was sent thither, with the command of the lord of Leicester's own regiment of foot, (who was then Lieutenant of Ireland,) and continued in that service with singular reputation of courage and conduct. When the war brake out in England between the King and the Parliament, he fell under some discountenance upon a suspicion of some inclination to the Parliament ; which proceeded only from his want of bitterness in his discourses against them, rather than from any inclinations towards them ; as appeared by his

¹ [Letter to Lambert.]

behaviour at Nantwich, where he was taken prisoner, and re-¹⁶⁵⁹mained in the Tower till the end of the war. ¹For though his behaviour had been such in Ireland, when the transportation of the regiments from thence to serve the King in England was in debate, that it was evident enough that he had no mind his regiment should be sent in that expedition, and his answers to the lord Ormonde were so rough and doubtful, (having had no other education but Dutch and Devoushire,) that he thought not fit to trust him, but gave the command of the regiment to Harry Warren, the lieutenant colonel of it, an excellent officer, generally known, and exceedingly beloved where he was known; those regiments were sent to Chester; but there were others at the same time sent to Bristol, and with them Munke was sent prisoner, and from Bristol to the King at Oxford, where, being known to many persons of quality, and his eldest brother being at the same time most zealous in the King's service in the west and most useful, his professions were so sincere, (being throughout his whole life never suspected of dissimulation,) that all men thought him very worthy of all trust; and the King was willing to send him into the west, where all men had a great opinion of his ability to command. But he desired that he might serve with his old friends and companions; and so, with the King's leave, made all possible haste towards Chester, where he arrived the very day before the defeat at Nantwich; and though his lieutenant colonel was very desirous to give up the command again to him, and to receive his orders, he would by no means at that time take it, but chose to serve as a volunteer in the first rank, with a pike in his hand, and was the next day taken ¹⁶⁴⁴prisoner with the rest, and with most of the other officers sent ^{Jan. 25-}to Hull, and shortly after from thence to the Tower of London.

97. He was no sooner there, than the lord Lysle, who had great kindness for him, and good interest in the Parliament, persuaded him, with much importunity, to take a commission in that service, and offered him a command superior to what he had ever had before; which he positively and disdainfully refused to accept, though the straits he suffered in prison were

¹ [*Hist.*, p. 32.]

1644
Oct. 10. 1659 very great, and he thought himself not kindly dealt with, that there was neither care for his exchange nor money sent for his support. But there was all possible endeavour used for the first, by offering several officers of the same quality for his exchange; which was always refused; there having been an ordinance made that no officer who had been transported out of Ireland should ever be exchanged; so that most of them remained still in prison with him in the Tower, and the rest in other prisons; who all underwent the same hardships by the extreme necessity of the King's condition, which could not provide money enough for their supply; yet all was done towards it that was possible.

98¹. When the war was at an end, and the King a prisoner, Cromwell prevailed with him, [Monck,] for his liberty and money, which he loved heartily, to engage himself again in the war of Ireland. And from that time he continued very firm to him [Cromwell,] who was liberal and bountiful to him, and took him into his entire confidence; and after he had put the command of Scotland into his hands, he feared nothing from those quarters; nor was there any man in either of the armies upon whose fidelity to him he more depended. And those of his western friends who thought best of him thought it to no purpose to make any attempt upon him whilst he [Cromwell] lived. But as soon as Cromwell was dead, he was generally looked upon as a man more inclined to the King than any other in any authority, if he might discover it without too much loss or hazard. His elder brother had been entirely devoted to the King's service, and all his relations were of the same faith. He had no fumes of religion which turned his head, nor any credit with, or dependence upon, any who were swayed by those trances; only he was cursed, after a long familiarity, to marry a woman of the lowest extraction², the least wit, and less beauty, who, taking no care for any other part of herself, had deposited her soul with some Presbyterian ministers, who disposed her to that interest. She was a woman *nihil muliebri*

¹ [Life, p. 573.]

² [Anne Clarges, sister of Thomas Clarges, M.D.; married about 1653.]

*præter corpus gerens*¹, so utterly unacquainted with all persons 1659 of quality of either sex, that there was no possible approach to him by her.

99. He had a younger brother, a divine, who had a parsonage in Devonshire², and had through all the ill times carried himself with signal integrity, and, being a gentleman of a good family, was in great reputation with all those who constantly adhered to the King. Sir Hugh Pollard and sir John Greenevill, who had both friendship for the general and old acquaintance and all confidence in his brother, advised with him, whether, since Cromwell was now gone, and in all reason it might be expected that his death would be attended with a general revolution, by which the King's interest would be again disputed, he did not believe that the general might be wrought upon, in a fit conjuncture, to serve the King, in which he would be sure to meet with a universal concurrence from the whole Scotch nation. The honest person thought the overture so reasonable, and wished so heartily it might be embraced, that he offered himself to make a journey to him [his brother] into Scotland, upon pretence of a visit, (there having been always a brotherly affection performed between them,) and directly to propose it to him. Pollard and Greenevill informed the King of this design, and believed well themselves of what they wished so much, and desired his majesty's approbation and instruction. The King had reason to approve it, and sent such directions as he thought most July 21. proper for such a negotiation. And so his brother began his journey towards Edenborough, where the general received him well. But after he had stayed some time there, and found an opportunity to tell him on what errand he came, he found him to be so far from the temper of a brother, that, after infinite reproaches for his daring to endeavour to corrupt him, he required him to leave that kingdom, using many oaths to him that if he ever returned to him with the same proposition he would cause him to be hanged; with which the poor man was

¹ [Vell. Paterculus, *Hist. Rom.*, ii. 74.]

² [Nicholas Monck, vicar of Kilkhampston, afterwards bishop of Hereford.]

1659 so terrified, that he was glad when he was gone, and never had the courage after to undertake the like employment¹.

100. And at that time there is no question the general had not the least thought or purpose ever to contribute to the King's restoration, the hope whereof he believed to be desperate; and the disposition that did grow in him afterwards did arise from those accidents which fell out, and even obliged him to undertake that which proved so much to his profit and glory. And yet from this very time, his brother being known and his journey taken notice of, it was generally believed in Scotland that he had a purpose to serve the King; which his majesty took no pains to disclaim, either there or in England.

101. Upon the several sudden changes in England, and the army's possessing itself of the entire government, he [Monck] saw he should quickly be overrun and destroyed by Lambert's greatness, of which he had always great emulation, if he did not provide for his own security. And therefore when he heard of his march towards the north, he used all inventions to get time, by entering into treaties, and in hope that there would appear some other party that would own and avow the Parliament interest, as he had done; nor had he then more in his imagination than his own profit and greatness under the establishment of its government.

102. When he heard of Lambert's being past York, and his making haste to Newcastle, and had purged out of his army all those whose affections and fidelity were suspected by him, he called the States of Scotland together, which he had subdued to all imaginable tameness, though he had exercised no other tyranny over them than was absolutely necessary to reduce the pride and stubbornness of that people to an entire submission to the yoke. In all his other carriage towards them but what was in order to that end, he was friendly and compani[on]able enough; and as he was feared by the nobility and hated by the

¹ [He left about Oct. 8, after two months' friendly stay. According to Skinner's *Life*, the general had told him that he would have to hang him if he found him talking about a restoration, but this was only in pursuance of his dissembling policy.]

clergy, so he was not unloved by the common people, who ¹⁶⁵⁹ received more justice and less oppression from him than they had been [ac]customed¹ to under their own lords. When the Convention appeared before him, he told them that he had ^{Nov.15-17.} received a call from heaven and earth to march with his army into England for the better settlement of the government there; and though he did not intend his absence should be long, yet he foresaw that there might be some disturbance of the peace which they enjoyed, and therefore he expected and desired that in any such occasion they would be ready to join with the forces he left behind in their own defence. In the second place, which was indeed all he cared for, he very earnestly pressed them that they would raise him a present sum of money for supplying the necessities of the army, without which it could not march into England.

103. From the time that he had settled his government in that kingdom, he had shewed more kindness to, and used more familiarity with, such persons who were most notorious for affection to the King, as finding them a more direct and punctual people than the rest; and when these men resorted to him upon this Convention, though they could draw nothing from him of promise or intimation to any such purpose, yet he was very well content that they should believe that he carried with him very good inclinations to the King; of which imagination of theirs he received very great advantage; for they gave him a twelvemonth's tax over the kingdom, which complied with his wish, and enabled him to draw his army together. And after he had assigned those who[m] he thought fit to leave behind him, under the command of major general Morgan, he marched with the rest to Barwick, where a good part of his ^{Dec. 5²} horse and foot expected him, having put an end to his treaty at London, and committed and cashiered colonel Wilkes, one of his commissioners he had sent thither, upon his return to Scotland, for having consented to something prejudicial to him, and expressly contrary to his instructions. However, he

¹ ['uncustomed,' MS.]

² [*Mercur. Polit.*, No. 598, p. 944.]

1859 desired to gain farther time, and consented to another treaty to be held at Newcastle, which, though he knew [it] would be governed by Lambert, was like not to be without some benefit to him, because it would keep up the opinion in the Committee of Safety that he was inclined to accommodation of peace.

about Nov.
21.

104. It was towards the end of November that Lambert with his army arrived at Newcastle, where he found the officers and soldiers [whom¹] Munke had cashiered, and [who¹,] he persuaded the people, had deserted him for his infidelity to the commonwealth, and that most of those who stayed with him would do so too, as soon as he [Lambert] should be within any distance to receive them. But he now found his confidence had carried him too far, and that he was at too great a distance to give that relief to his Committee of Safety which it was like to stand in need of. Haslerigge and Morl[e]y were now looked upon as the persons invested with the authority of Parliament, whose interest was supported by them; and the officer who was sent by the Committee of Safety to restrain them, or rather to restrain persons from resorting to them, found himself deserted by more than half his soldiers, who declared that they would serve the Parliament, and so went into Portsmouth; and another officer, who was sent with a stronger party to second them, discovering or fomenting the same affections in his soldiers, very frankly carried them to the same place: so that they were now grown too numerous to be contained within that garrison, but were quartered to be in readiness to march whither their generals would conduct them.

Dec. 20.

105. The city took new courage from hence; and what the masters durst not publicly own, the apprentices did, their dislike of the present government; and, flocking together in great multitudes, declared that they would have a free Parliament. And though colonel Hewson, (a fellow who had been an ill shoemaker, and afterwards clerk to a brewer of small beer,)

Dec. 5. who was left to guard the Committee of Safety, suppressed that commotion by marching into the city, and killing some of the apprentices, yet the loss of that blood inflamed the city the

¹ ['which—which,' MS.]

more against the army, which they said was only kept on foot 1659 to murder the citizens; and they caused a bill of indictment to be prepared against Hewson for those murders. The Common Council appeared every day more refractory, and refused to concur in any thing that was proposed to them by the Committee of Safety, which began to be universally abhorred, as like to be the original of such another tyranny as Cromwell had erected, since it wholly depended upon the power and spirit of the army; though, on the other hand, the Committee pro- Dec. 10¹. tested and declared to them, that there should be a Parliament called to meet together in February next, under such qualifications and restrictions as might be sure to exclude such persons who would destroy them. But this gave no satisfaction, every man remembering the Parliament that had been packed by Cromwell.

106. But that which brake the heart of the Committee of Safety was the revolt of their favourite vice-admiral Lawson, a man at least as much a republican as any man amongst them; as much an Independent, as much an enemy to the Presbyterians of the Covenant, as sir H. Vane himself, and a great dependent upon sir H. Vane; whom they had raised to that command that they might be sure to have the seamen still at their devotion. This man, with his whole squadron, came into the river and declared for the Parliament². This was so unexpected that they would not believe it, but sent sir H. Vane and two others of great intimacy with Lawson³ to confer with him; who, when they came to the fleet, found sir Anthony Dec. 17. Ashl[e]y Cooper, and two others, members of the Parliament, who had so fully possessed him, that he was deaf to all their charms, and told them that he would submit to no authority Dec. 18. but that of the Parliament.

107. Upon the fame of this, Haslerigge and Morl[e]y resolve with their troops to leave Portsmouth, and to march towards

¹ [On Dec. 14 the Committee ordered that writs should be issued for summoning a Parliament on Jan. 24.]

² [His Declaration is dated Dec. 13.]

³ [‘sir Henry Vane, major Salwey, col. Salmon, and others.’ *Mercur. Polit.*, No. 599, p. 963.]

- 1659 London, where their friends now prevailed so much. And the
 Dec. 22. news of this march raised new thoughts in those soldiers who had been left by Lambert to execute any orders which they should receive from the Committee of Safety. The officers of these regiments had been cashiered by the Committee of Safety for adhering to the Parliament; and their commands having been given to other men who had been discountenanced by the Parliament, the regiments appeared as much confirmed to the interest of the army as could be wished. These cashiered officers, upon so great revolutions in the city and the navy, and the news of the advance of Haslerigge and Morl[e]y, resolved to confer with their old soldiers, and try whether they had as much credit with them as their new officers; and found so much encouragement, that at a time appointed they put themselves into the head of their regiments, and marched with them into the field; [whence¹,] after a short conference together, and renewing vows to each other never more to desert the Parliament, they all marched into Chancery Lane, to the house of the Speaker, and professed their resolution to live and die with the Parliament, and never more to swerve from their fidelity to it.

108. Lambert, upon the first news of the froward spirit in the city, had sent back Desborough's regiment, which was now
 Dec. 23. marched as near London as St. Alban's, where, hearing what their fellows at Westminster, with whom they were to join, had done, they resolved not to be the last in their submission, but declared that they likewise were for the Parliament, and gave the Speaker notice of their obedience. In all these several tergiversations of the soldiers, the general Fleetwood remained still in consultations with the Committee of Safety; and when any intelligence was brought of any murmur amongst the soldiers, by which a revolt might ensue, and he was desired to go amongst them to confirm them, he would fall upon his knees to his prayers, and could hardly be prevailed with to go to them. And when he was amongst them, and in the middle of any discourse, he would invite them all to prayers, and put

¹ ['where,' MS.]

himself upon his knees before them: and when some of his 1659 friends importuned him to appear more vigorous in the charge he had, without which they must be all destroyed, they could get no other answer from him than that God had spit in his face and would not hear him: so that men ceased to wonder why Lambert had preferred him to the office of general, and been content with the second command for himself.

109. Lenthall the Speaker, upon this new declaration of Dec. 24. the soldiers, recovered his spirit, and went into the city, conferred with the Lord Mayor and aldermen, and declared to them that the Parliament would meet within very few days. For as the members were not many who were alive and suffered to meet as the Parliament, so they were now dispersed into several places. Then he went to the Tower, and by his own authority removed the lieutenant¹, who had been put in by the Committee of Safety, and put in sir Anthony Ashl[e]y Cooper Dec. 26. and other members of the Parliament into the government and command of the Tower. And all things being in this good order, he and his members met again together at Westminster, Dec. 26. and assumed the government of the three kingdoms, out of which they had been twice before cast with so much reproach and infamy. As soon as they came together, they repealed their Act against the payment of excise and customs, and put Dec. 27. those collections into the state they had been formerly [in,] that they might be sure not to be without money to pay their proselyte forces, and to carry on their other expenses. Then they appointed commissioners to direct the quarters into which their army should be put, and made an order that all the troops under the command of Lambert, (without sending any direction to him,) should repair to those quarters to which they were assigned.

110. This man was now in a disconsolate condition. As Munke approached nearer to him, very many of his soldiers deserted him, and went to the other. The lord Fayrefax had raised forces, and possessed himself of York, without declaring any thing of his purpose. And this last order of the Parlia-

¹ [col. Fitch.]

ment so entirely stripped Lambert of his army, that there remained not with him above one hundred horse; all the rest returned to their quarters with all quietness and resignation; March 7. and himself was soon after committed to the Tower. Those officers of the army who had been formerly cashiered by them [the Parliament], and resumed their commands that they might disband them, were again dismissed from their charges, and committed prisoners to their own houses. Sir H. Vane and Jan. 9. such other members of the House as had concurred with the Committee of Safety were likewise confined to their own houses: so that the Parliament seemed now again possessed of a more absolute authority than ever it had been, and to be without any danger of opposition or contradiction.

111. The other changes and fluctuations had still administered hopes to the King, and the daily breaking out of new animosities amongst the chief ministers of the former mischieves disposed men to believe that the government might at last rest upon the old foundations. Men expected that a very sharp engagement between Lambert and Munke might make the army for ever after irreconcilable¹ and that all parties would be at last obliged to consent to a new Parliament, in the election whereof there was a reasonable belief that the general temper of the people would choose sober and wise men, who would rather bind up wounds which had been already made than endeavour to widen them. The Committee of Safety neither received the reverence nor inculcated the fear which any government was to do that was to last any time. But this wonderful resurrection of the Parliament, that had been so often exploded, so often dead and buried, and was the only image of power that was formidable to the King and his party, and seemed to pull up all their hopes by the roots, looked like an act of Providence to establish their monstrous murder and usurpation. And it may be justly said, and transmitted as a truth to posterity, that there was not one man who bore a part in these changes and giddy revolutions who had the least purpose or thought to contribute towards the King's restor-

¹ ['irreconcilable,' MS.]

ation, or who wished well to his interest; they who did so being so totally suppressed and dispirited, that they were only at gaze what light might break out of this darkness, and what order Providence might produce out of this confusion.

112. And this was the true state of affairs when the King returned from Fuentarabia to Bruxells, or within few days after; and therefore it is no wonder that there was that dejection of spirit upon his majesty and those about him, and that the duke of York, who saw so little hope of returning into England, was well pleased with the condition that was offered him in Spain, and that his servants were impatient to find him in possession of it.

113. Whilst the divisions continued in the army, and the Parliament seemed entirely deposed and laid aside, and nobody imagined a possibility of any composition without blood, the cardinal himself, as is said before, and the Spanish ministers, § 70. seemed ready and prepared to advance any design of the King's. But when they saw all those contentions and raging animosities composed or suppressed without one broken head, and those very men again in possession of the power and the army who had been so scornfully rejected and trampled upon, and who had it now in their power as well as their purpose to level all those preeminences which had overlooked them, they looked upon the government as more securely settled against domestic disturbances, and much more formidably with reference to their neighbours, than it had been under Cromwell himself, and thought of nothing more than how to make advantageous and firm alliances with it.

114. There remained only within the King's own breast some faint hope (and God knows it was very faint) that Munke's march into England might yet produce some alteration. His majesty had a secret correspondence with some principal officers in his army, who were much trusted by him, and promised great services, and it was presumed that they would undertake no such perilous engagement without his privy and connivance. Then it might be expected from his judgment, that whatever present conditions the governing party

1680 might give him for the service he had done, he could not but conclude that they would be always jealous of the power they saw he was possessed of, and that an army that had marched so far barely upon his word would be as ready to march to any place, or for any purpose, he would conduct them. And it was evident enough to all the world that the Parliament resolved to new model their army, and to leave no man in any such extent of command as to be able to control their counsels. Besides, he knew they were jealous of his fidelity, how much soever they courted him then, and therefore he was obliged to provide for his own safety and security.

115. But, I say, these were but faint hopes, and grounded upon such probabilities as despairing men are willing to entertain. The truth is, those officers had honest inclinations, and, as wise men, had concluded, that from those frequent shuffles some game at last might fall out that might prove to the King's advantage, and so were willing to bespeak their own welcome by an early application, which, in regard of the persons trusted by them, they concluded would be attended with no danger. But they never gave the general the least cause to imagine that they had any such affection; and if they had, they had paid dearly for it. And for the second presumption, upon his understanding and ratiocination, alas! it was not equal to the enterprise. He could not bear so many and so different contrivances in his head together as were necessary to that work. And it was the King's great happiness that he never had it in his purpose to serve him till it fell to be in his power, and indeed till he had nothing else in his power to do. If he had resolved it sooner, he had been destroyed himself; the whole machine being so infinitely above his strength, that it could be only moved by a divine hand; and it is glory enough to his memory, that he was instrumental in bringing those mighty things to pass, which he had neither wisdom to foresee, nor courage to attempt, nor understanding to contrive.

116. When the Parliament found themselves at so much ease, and so much without apprehension of farther insecurity, they heartily wished that general Munke was again in his old

quarters in Scotland. But as he continued his march towards 1660 London without expecting their orders, so they knew not how to command him to return whom they had sent for to assist them, without seeing him and giving thanks and reward for his great service; yet they sent to him their desire that all his Jan. 6. forces might be sent back to Scotland, and that he would not come to London with above five hundred horse. But he, having sent back as many as he knew would be sufficient for any work they could have to do in those northern parts, continued his march with an army of about five thousand horse and foot, consisting of such persons in whose affections to him he had full confidence. When he came to York, he found that Jan. 11. city in the possession of the lord Fayrefax, who received him with open arms, and as if he had drawn those forces together, and seized upon that place, to prevent the army's possessing it, and to make his advance the less interrupted.

117. The truth is, that upon a letter from the King delivered to him [Fayrefax] by sir Horatio Townesend, and with his sole privity, and upon a presumption that general Munke brought good affections with him for his majesty's service, the lord Fayrefax had called together his old disbanded officers and soldiers, and marched in the head of them into York, as soon as Jan. 1. Lambert was passed towards Newcastle, with a full resolution to declare for the King. But when he could not discover upon conference with Munke that he had any such thought, he satisfied himself with the testimony of his own conscience, and presently dismissed his troops, being well contented with having, in the head of the principal gentlemen of that large county, presented their desires to the general in writing, that he would be instrumental to restore the nation to peace and security, and to the enjoying those rights and liberties which by the law were due to them, and of which they had been robbed and deprived by so many years' distractions; and that in order thereunto, he would prevail either for the restoring those members which had been excluded in the year 1648 by force and violence, that they might exercise that trust the kingdom had reposed in them, or that a free and full Parliament might

1660 be called by the votes of the people, to which all subjects had a right by their birth.

118. The principal persons of all counties through which he marched flocked to him in a body with addresses to the
Dec. 29. same purpose. The city of London sent a letter to him by their sword-bearer, to offer their service; and all concluded for a free Parliament, legally chosen by the free votes of the people. He received all with much civility and few words; took all occasions publicly to declare that nothing should shake his fidelity to the present Parliament, yet privately assured those who he thought necessary should hope well, that he would procure a free Parliament; so that every body promised himself that which he most wished.

119. The Parliament was far from being confident that he was above temptation; the manner of his march, with such a body contrary to their desires, his receiving so many addresses from the people, and his treating malignants so civilly, startled them much; though his professions of fidelity to the Parliament, and referring all determinations to their wisdoms, had a good aspect, yet they feared that he might observe too much how generally odious they were grown to the people, which might lessen his reverence towards them. To prevent this as much as might be, and to give some check to that license of addresses and resort of malignants, they sent two of their
Jan. 16. members of most credit (Scott and Robinson,) under pretence of giving their thanks to him for the service he had done, to continue and be present with him, and to discountenance and reprehend any boldness that should appear in any delinquents¹. But this served but to draw more affronts upon them; for those gentlemen who were civilly used by the general would not bear any disrespect from those, of whose persons they had all contempt, and for the authority of those who sent them had no kind of reverence. As soon as the city knew of the deputing these two members, they likewise sent four² of their
Jan. 19.

¹ [They met Monck at Leicester on Jan. 22.]

² [three; aldermen Fowke and Vincent, and col. Bromfield. *Mercur. Polit.*, No. 604, p. 1043.]

principal citizens to perform the same compliments, and to 1660 confirm him in his inclinations to a free Parliament, as the remedy all men desired¹.

120. He continued his march with very few halts till he came to St. Alban's. There he stopped for some days, and sent Jan. 28. to the Parliament that he had some apprehension that those regiments and troops of the army who had formerly deserted them, though for the present they were returned to their obedience, would not live peaceably with his men, and therefore desired that all the soldiers who were then quartered in the Strand, Westminster, or other suburbs of the city, might be presently removed, and sent to more distant quarters, that there might be room for his army. This message was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed them, and made them see their fate would still be to be under the force and awe of an army. However, they found it necessary to comply, and sent Feb. 1. their orders to all soldiers to depart, which with the reason and ground of their resolution, was so disdainfully received, that a mutiny did arise amongst the soldiers, and the regiment that Feb. 2. was quartered in Somerset House expressly refused to obey those orders; so that there was like to be new uproars. But their officers who would have been glad to inflame them upon such an occasion were under restraint; and so at last all was composed, and officers and soldiers removed to the quarters which were assigned them, with animosity enough against those who were to succeed them in their old [ones.] And about the middle of February general Munke with his army marched through the Feb. 3. city into the Strand and Westminster, where it was quartered; his own lodgings being provided for him in Whitehall.

121. He was shortly after conducted to the Parliament, which had before, when they saw there was no remedy, conferred the office and power of general of all the forces in the three kingdoms upon him, as absolutely as ever they had given it to Cromwell². There he had a chair appointed for him to sit

¹ [They met him at Market Harborough on Jan. 23.]

² [By vote on Jan. 26 confirming a commission given by the Council of State on Nov. 24.]

1660 in; and the Speaker made a speech to him, in which he
 Feb. 6. extolled the great service he had done to the Parliament, and therein to the kingdom, which was in danger to have lost all the liberty they had gotten with so vast an expense of blood and treasure, and to have been made slaves again, if he had not magnanimously declared himself in their defence; the reputation whereof was enough to blast all their enemies' designs, and to reduce all to their obedience. He told him his memory should flourish to all ages, and the Parliament (whose thanks he presented to him) would take all occasions to manifest their kindness and gratitude for the service he had done.

122. The general was not a man of eloquence, or of any volubility of speech; he assured them of his constant fidelity, which should never be shaken, and that he would live and die in their service; and then informed them of the several addresses which he had received in his march, and of the observation he made of the general temper of the people, and their impatient desire of a free Parliament, which he mentioned with more than his natural warmth, as a thing they would expect to be satisfied in; (which they observed and disliked;) yet concluded, that having done his duty in this representation, and thereby complied with his promise which he had made to those who had made the addresses, he entirely left the consideration and determination of the whole to their wisdoms; which gave them some ease, and hope that he would be faithful, though inwardly they heartily wished that he was again in Scotland, and that they had been left to contend with the malignity of their old army; and they longed for some occasion that he might manifest his fidelity and resignation to them, or give them just occasion to suspect and question it.

123. The late confusions and interruptions of all public receipts had wholly emptied those coffers out of which the army and all other expenses were to be supplied. And though the Parliament had, upon their coming together again, renewed their ordinances for all collections and payments, yet money came in very slowly; and the people generally had so little reverence for their legislators, that they gave very slow

obedience to their directions: so that they found it necessary 1660 for their present supply, till they might by degrees make themselves more universally obeyed, to raise a present great sum of money upon the city; which could not be done but by the advice and with the consent of the Common Council; that is, it could not be levied and collected orderly and peaceably without their distribution.

124. The Common Council was constituted of such persons who were weary of the Parliament, and would in no degree submit to or comply with any of their commands. They did not Feb. 8. only utterly refuse to consent to this new imposition, but in the debate of it excepted against the authority, and, upon the matter, declared that they would never submit to any imposition that was not granted by a free and lawful Parliament. And it was generally believed that they had assumed this courage upon some confidence they had in the general; and the apprehension of this made the Parliament to be in the greater perplexity and distraction. This would immediately put an end to their empire; and they resolved therefore upon this occasion to make a full experiment of their own power and of their general's obedience.

125. The Parliament, having received a full information from those aldermen, and others, whose interest was bound up with theirs, of all that had passed at the Common Council, and of the seditious discourses and expressions made by several of the citizens, referred it to the consideration of the Council of State what was fit to be done towards the rebellious city, and to reduce them to that submission which they ought to pay to the Parliament. The Privy Council deliberated the matter, and returned their advice to the Parliament, that some part of the Feb. 9. army might be sent into the city, and remain there, to preserve the peace thereof and of the commonwealth, and to reduce it to the obedience of the Parliament. And in order thereunto, and for their better humiliation, they thought it convenient that the posts and chains should be removed from and out of the several streets of the city, and that the portcullises and gates of the city should be taken down and broken. Over and above this,

1660 they named ten persons, who had been the principal conductors in the Common Council, all citizens of great reputations; and advised that they might be apprehended and committed to prison, and that thereupon a new Common Council might be elected, that would be more at their devotion.

126. This round advice was embraced by the Parliament; and they had now a fit occasion to make experiment of the courage and fidelity of their general, and commanded him to march into the city with his whole army, and to execute all those particulars which they thought so necessary to their service; and he as readily executed their commands; led Feb. 9. his army into the town, neglected the entreaties and prayers of all who applied to him, (whereof there were many who believed he meant better towards them,) caused as many as he could of those who were proscribed to be apprehended, and sent them to the Tower, and, with all the circumstances of contempt, pulled down and brake the gates and portcullises, to the confusion and consternation of the whole city; and having thus exposed it to the scorn and laughter of all who hated it, which was the whole kingdom, he returned himself to Whitehall, and his army to their former quarters; and by this last act of outrage convinced those who expected somewhat from him how vain their hopes were, and how incapable he was of embracing any opportunity to do a noble action, and confirmed his masters that they could not be too confident of his obedience to their most extravagant injunctions. And without doubt, if they had cultivated this tame resignation of his with any temper and discretion, by preparing his consent and approbation to their proceedings, they would have found a full condescension from him, at least no opposition to their counsels. But they were so infatuated with pride and insolence, that they could not discern the ways to their own preservation.

127. Whilst he was executing this their tyranny upon the city, they were contriving how to lessen his power and authority, and resolved to join others with him in the command of the Feb. 9. army; and upon that very day they received a petition, which they had fomented, presented to the Parliament by a man

notorious in those times, and who hath been formerly mentioned, 1660 Praise God Barebones, in the head of a crowd of sectaries. The petition began with all the imaginable bitterness and reproaches upon the memory of the late King, and against the person of the present King and all the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the kingdom which adhered to him; the utter extirpation of all which it pressed with great acrimony. It took notice of many discourses of calling a new Parliament, at least of admitting those members to sit in the present Parliament who had been excluded in the year 1648; either of which, they [the petitioners] said, would prove the inevitable destruction of all the godly in the land¹; and therefore they besought them with all earnestness, that no person whatsoever might be admitted to the exercise of any office or function in the State or in the Church, no not so much as to teach a school, who did not first take the oath of abjuration of the King and of all his family, and that he would never submit to the government of any one single person whatsoever; and that whosoever should presume so much as to propose or mention the restoration of the King, in Parliament or in any other place, should be adjudged guilty of, and condemned for, high treason.

128. This petition was received with great approbation by the House, their affection much applauded, and the thanks of the Parliament very solemnly returned by the Speaker; all which information the general received at Whitehall when he returned out of the city, and was presently attended by his chief officers, who, with open mouths, inveighed against the proceedings of the Parliament, their manifest ingratitude to him and the indignity offered to him, in their giving such countenance to a rabble of infamous varlets, who desired to set the whole kingdom in a flame, to comply with their fantastic and mad enthusiasms; and that they [the Parliament] would never have admitted such an infamous address with approbation except they had first resolved upon his ruin and destruction, which he was assuredly to look for if he did not pre-

¹ [These are not the actual words of the petition, but only express its sense.]

1660 vent it by his wisdom and sagacity; and thereupon told him of the underhand endeavours which were used to work upon the affections of the soldiers.

129¹. The general had been prepared, by the conferences of Scott and Robinson in the march, to expect that as soon as he came to the Parliament he² must take the oath of abjuration of the King and his family; and therefore they advised him to offer the taking it himself, before it should be proposed to him, as a matter that would confirm all men in an entire confidence in him; and he discovered not the least aversion from it. And when he came to the Parliament, they forebore that day to mention it, being a day dedicated only to caress him and to give him thanks, in which it could not be seasonable to mingle any thing of distrust. But they meant roundly to have pressed him to it, if this opportunity, which they looked upon as a better earnest of his fidelity, had not fallen out; and without doubt he had not yet taken any such resolution as would have made him pause in the giving them that satisfaction. But³ being now awakened by this alarum from his officers, and the temper they were in, and his phlegm a little curdled, he began to think himself in danger, and that this body of men that was called the Parliament had not reputation enough to preserve themselves and those who adhered to them. He had observed throughout the kingdom, as he marched, how opprobrious they were in the estimation of all men, who gave them no other term or appellation but the *rump*, as the fag end of a carcass long since expired. All that night was spent in consultation with his officers; nor did he then form any other design than so to unite his army to him that they might not leave him in any resolution he should think fit to take.

Feb. 11. 130. In the morning, the very next morning⁴ after he had broken the gates and the hearts of the city, he called his army again together, and marched with it into London, taking up his own quarters at an alderman's house, where he dined. At

¹ [*Hist.*, p. 32.]

² ['that he,' MS.]

³ [*Life*, p. 581.]

⁴ [The next but one. On Thursday, Feb. 9, he removed the chains and barriers in the city, on Friday remained at Whitehall, and on Saturday returned into the city. *Mercur. Polit.*, No. 607, pp. 1101, 2.]

the same time he left Whitehall he sent a letter to the 1660 Parliament, in which he roundly took notice of their unreasonable, unjust, and unpolitic proceedings; of their abetting and countenancing wicked and unchristian tenents in reference to religion, and such as would root out the practice of any religion; of their underhand corresponding with those very persons whom they had declared to be enemies, and who had been principally instrumental in all the affronts and indignities they had undergone, in and after their dissolution. And thereupon he advised them in such terms as they could not but understand for the most peremptory command, that within such a time, (a time prescribed in his letter,) they would issue out writs for a new Parliament¹, that so their own sitting might be determined²; which was the only expedient that could return peace and happiness to the kingdom, and which both the army and kingdom expected at their hands. This letter was no sooner delivered to the House than it was printed, and carefully published and dispersed throughout the city, to the end that they who had been so lately and so wofully disappointed might see how thoroughly he was embarked, and so entertain no new jealousies of him.

131. After he had dined, and disposed his army in such manner and order as he thought fit, he sent to the Lord Mayor and aldermen to meet him at the Guildhall; where, after many excuses for the work of yesterday, they plighted their troth each to other in such a manner, for their perfect union and adhering to each other for the future, that, as soon as they came from thence, the Lord Mayor attended the general to his lodging, and all the bells of the city proclaimed and testified to the town and kingdom that the army and the city were of one mind. And as soon as the evening came, there was a continued light by bonfires throughout the city and suburbs, with such a universal exclamation of joy as had never been known and cannot be expressed, with such ridiculous expressions of scorn and contempt of the Parliament as testified the no regard, or

¹ [writs for filling up their own number, to be issued by Friday, Feb. 17.]

² ['the time hastens wherein you have declared your intended dissolution, which the people and ourselves desire you would be punctual in.']

1660 rather the notable detestation, they had of it; there being scarce a bonfire at which they did not roast rumps, and pieces of flesh they made like them, which they said was for the celebration of the funeral of the Parliament. There can be no invention of fancy, wit, or ribaldry, that was not that night exercised to defame the Parliament and to magnify the general.

132. In such a huddle and mixture of loose people of all conditions, and such a transport of affections, it could not be otherwise but that some men would drink the King's health; which was taken no notice of; nor did one person of condition once presume to mention him. All this, how much soever it amazed and distracted the Parliament, did not so dishearten them but that they continued still to sit, and proceeded in all things with their usual confidence. They were not willing to despair of recovering their general again to them; and to that purpose they sent a committee to treat with him, and to make all such profers to him as they conceived were most like to comply with his ambition or to satisfy his insatiable avarice. The entertainment he gave this committee was the engaging them in a conference with another committee of the excluded members, to the end that he might be satisfied by hearing both, how one could have right to sit there as a Parliament and the other be excluded: and when he had heard them all, he made no scruple to declare, that in justice the secluded members ought to be admitted, but that matter was now over by his having required the calling another Parliament and the dissolution of this.

133. After he had put the city into the posture they desired, and found no danger threatened him from any place, he returned again to his quarter in Whitehall, and disposed his army to those posts which he judged most convenient. He then sent
Feb. 17¹. for the members of the Parliament to come to him, and many others who had been excluded, and lamented the sad condition the kingdom was in, which he principally imputed to the disunion and divisions which had arisen in Parliament between those who were faithful to the commonwealth; that he had had many conferences with them together, and was satisfied by those

¹ [*Mercur. Polit.*, No. 608, p. 1117.]

gentlemen who had been excluded of their integrity; and there-¹⁶⁶⁰fore he had desired this conference between them, that he might communicate his own thoughts to them; in doing whereof, that he might not be mistaken in his delivery or misapprehended in his expressions, as he had lately been, he had put what he had a mind to say in writing; which he commanded his secretary to read to them. The writing imported, that the settlement of the nation lay now in their hands, and that he was assured they would become makers-up of its woful breaches, in pursuit whereof they would be sure of all his service, and [he] should think all his pains well spent; that he would impose nothing upon them, but took leave to put them in mind, that the old foundations upon which the government had heretofore stood were so totally broken down and demolished, that in the eye of human reason they could never be re-edified and restored but in the ruin of the nation; that the interest of the city of London would be best preserved by the government of a commonwealth, which was the only means to make that city to be the bank for the whole trade of Christendom; that he thought a moderate, not a rigid, Presbyterian government would be most acceptable, and the best way of settlement in the affairs of the Church; that their care would be necessary to settle the conduct of the army, and to provide maintenance for the forces by sea and land; and concluded with a desire that they would put a period to the present Parliament, and give order for the calling another that might make a perfect settlement, to which all men might submit.

134. There was no dissimulation in this, that he might cover and conceal his good intentions for the King; for without doubt he had not to this hour entertained any purpose or thought to serve him, but was really of the opinion he expressed in his paper, that it was a work impossible; and desired nothing but that he might see a commonwealth established, in such a model as Holland was, where he had been bred, and that himself might enjoy the authority and place which the Prince of Aurange possessed in that government. He had not from his marching out of Scotland to this time had any conversation with any one person who had served the King, or indeed had he acquaintance

1660 with any such ; nor had he hitherto, or long after did he, set one of the King's friends at liberty, though all the prisons were full of them ; but, on the contrary, they were every day committed, and it was guilt enough to be suspected but to wish for the King's restoration.

135. As soon as the conference above mentioned was ended with the members of the Parliament, they who had been excluded
- Feb. 21. from the year 1648 repaired to the House and without any interruption, which they had hitherto found, took their places ; and, being superior in number to the rest, they first repealed and abolished all the orders by which they had been excluded ; then they provided for him who had so well provided for them,
- Feb. 25. by renewing and enlarging the general's commission, and re-
- Feb. 24. voking all other commissions which had been granted to any to meddle with, or assign quarters to, any part of the forces. They who had sat before had put the whole militia of the kingdom into the hands of sectaries, persons of no degree or quality, and notorious only for some new tenet in religion, and for some barbarity exercised upon the King's party. All these
- Feb. 23. commissions were revoked, and the militia put under the government of the nobility and principal gentry throughout the
- March 12. kingdom ; yet with this care and exception, that no person should be capable of being trusted in that province who did not first declare under his hand, that he did confess and acknowledge that the war raised by the two Houses of Parliament against the late King was just and lawful, until such time as force and violence was used upon the Parliament in the year 1648¹.
- Jan. 26. 136. In the last place, they raised an assessment of one hundred thousand pounds by the month, for the payment of the army and defraying the public expenses for six months, to which the whole kingdom willingly submitted ; and the city of
- Feb. 23. London, upon the credit and security of that Act, advanced as much ready money² as they were desired. And having thus far redressed what was past, and provided as well as they could for
- Feb. 22. the future, they issued out writs to call a Parliament, to meet upon the 25th day of April next ensuing, (being April 1660,)

¹ [The words ' until—1648 ' are not in the proviso.] ² [£60,000.]

and then, on the 16th day of March, after they had appointed a 1660 Council of State, consisting of many sober and honest gentlemen, who had never wished the King ill, they dissolved that March 16. present Parliament, against all the importunities used by the sectaries, who in multitudes flocked together, and made addresses in the name of the city of London, that they would not dissolve themselves, and to the unspeakable joy of all the rest of the kingdom, who, notwithstanding their very different affections, expectations, and designs, were unanimous in their weariness and detestation of the Long Parliament.

137. When the King, who had rather an imagination than an expectation that the march of general Munke to London with his army might produce some alteration that might be useful to him, heard now of his entire submission to the Parliament, and of his entering the city and disarming it, the commitment of the principal citizens, and breaking their gates and portcullises, all the little remainder of his hopes was extinguished, and he had nothing left before his eyes but a perpetual exile, attended with all those discomforts of which he had too long experience, and which he must now expect would be improved with the worst circumstances of neglect, which use to wait upon that condition. And a greater consternation and dejection of mind cannot be imagined than at that time covered the whole Court of the King. But God would not suffer the King long to be wrapped up in that melancholic cloud. As the general's second march into the city was the very next day after his first, and dispelled the mists and fogs which the other had raised, so the very evening of that day which had brought the news of the first in the morning, brought likewise an account to his majesty of the second, with all the circumstances of bells and bonfires and burning of rumps, and such other additions as might reasonably be true, and which a willing relator would not omit.

138. When it began to be dark, the lord marquis of Ormonde brought a young man with him to the Chancellor's lodging at Bruxells, which was under the King's bedchamber, and to which his majesty every day vouchsafed to come for the despatch of

1660 any business. The marquis said no more but that that man had formerly been an officer under him, and he believed he was an honest man ; besides, that he brought a line or two of credit from a person they would both believe ; but that his discourse was so strange and extravagant that he knew not what to think of it ; however, he would call the King to judge of it ; and so went out of the room, leaving the man there, and immediately returned with the King.

139. The man's name was Bayly, who had lived most in Ireland, and had served there as a foot-officer under the marquis. He looked as if he had drank much, or slept little. His relation was, that in the afternoon of such a day he was with sir John Stephens in Lambeth House, used then as a prison for many of the King's friends ; where, whilst they were in conference together, news was brought into the house by several persons that the general was marched with his whole army into the city, it being the very next day after he had been there and broke down their gates and pulled down their posts, and that he had a conference with the mayor and aldermen, which was no sooner ended but that all the city bells rang out ; and he heard the bells very plain at Lambeth ; and that he stayed there so late till they saw the bonfires burning and flaming in the city : upon which sir John Stephens had desired him that he would immediately cross the river, and go into London, and inquire what the matter was, and if he found any thing extraordinary in it, that he would take post, and make all possible haste to Bruxells, that the King might be informed of it ; and so gave him a short note in writing to the marquis of Ormonde, that he might believe all that that messenger would inform him : that thereupon he went over the river, walked through Cheapside, saw the bonfires and the King's health drank in several places, heard all that the general had done, and brought a copy of the letter which the general had sent to the Parliament at the time when he returned with his army into the city ; and then told many things which were, he said, publicly spoken concerning sending for the King : and then he took post for Dover, and hired a bark that brought him to Ostend.

140. The time was so short from the hour he left London 1660 that the expedition of his journey was incredible; nor could any man undertake to come from thence in so short a time upon the most important affair and for the greatest reward. It was evident, by many pauses and hesitations in his discourse and some repetitions, that the man was not composed, and at best wanted sleep; yet his relation could not be a mere fiction and imagination. Sir John Stephens was a man well known to his majesty and the other two, and had been sent over lately by the King with some advice to his friends; and it was well known that he had been apprehended at his landing, and was sent prisoner to Lambeth House. And though he had not mentioned in his note any particulars, yet he had given him credit, and nothing but the man's own devotion to the King could reasonably tempt him to undertake so hazardous and chargeable a journey. Then the general's letter to the Parliament was of the highest moment, and not like to be feigned; and, upon the whole matter, the King thought he had argument to raise his own spirits, and that he should do but justly in communicating his intelligence to his dispirited family and servants; who, upon the news thereof, were proportionably revived to the despair they had swallowed, and, according to the temper of men who had lain under long disconsolation, thought all their sufferings over, and laid in a stock of unreasonable presumption that no success could procure satisfaction for.

141. But the King, who thanked God for this new dawning of hope, and was much refreshed with this unexpected alteration, was yet restrained from any confidence that this would produce any such revolution as would be sufficient to do his work, towards which he saw cause enough to despair of assistance from any foreign power. The most that he could collect from the general's letter, besides the suppressing the present tyranny of the Parliament, was, that the secluded members would be again admitted, and, it may be, able to govern that council; which administered no solid ground of comfort or confidence. Few of those excluded members had been true

1660 members of Parliament, but elected into their places after the end of the war who had been expelled for adhering to the King, and so had no title of sitting there but what the counterfeit great seal had given them, without and against the King's authority. These men, with others who had been lawfully chosen, were willing and desirous that the concessions made by the late King at the Isle of Wight might be accepted; which in truth did, with the preservation of the name and life of the King, as much establish a republican government as was settled after his murder; and because they would insist upon that, they were, with those circumstances of force and violence which are formerly mentioned, excluded from the House; without which that horrid villainy could never have been committed.

142. Now what could the King reasonably expect from these men's re-admission into the government, but that they would resume their old conclusions, and press him to consent to his father's concessions, and which his late majesty yielded unto with much less cheerfulness than he walked to the scaffold, and upon the promise of many powerful men then in the Parliament that he should not be obliged to accomplish that agreement? These revolvings wrought much upon his majesty, though he thought it necessary to appear pleased with what was done, and to expect much greater things from it; which yet he knew not how to contribute to, till he should receive a farther account from London of the revolutions.

143. Indeed, when all he heard before was confirmed by several expresses, who passed with much freedom, and were every day sent by his friends, who had recovered their courage to the full, and discerned that these excluded members were principally admitted to prepare for the calling a new Parliament, and to be sure to make the dissolution of this unquestionable and certain, his majesty recovered all his hopes again; which were every day confirmed by the addresses of many men who had never before applied themselves to him; and many sent to him for his majesty's approbation and leave to serve and sit in the next Parliament. And from the time that the Parliament was dissolved, the Council of State behaved themselves very

civilly towards his majesty's friends, and released many of them 1660 out of prison: and Ansloe [Annesley,] the president of the Council, was very well contented that the King should receive particular information of his devotion, and of his resolution to do him service; which he manifested in many particulars of importance, and had the courage to receive a letter from his majesty, and returned a dutiful answer: all which had a very good aspect, and seemed to promise much good. Yet the King knew not what to think of the general's paper, which he had delivered at his conference with the members; for which he could have no temptation but his violent affection to a commonwealth. None of his [majesty's] friends could find any means of address to him [Monck]; yet they did believe, and were much the better for believing it, that the King had some secret correspondence with him; and some of them sent to the King, of what importance it would be that he gave them some credit, or means of access, to the general, by which they might receive his order and direction in such things as occurred on the sudden, and that they might be sure to do nothing that might cross any purpose of his. To which the King returned no other answer but that they should have patience, and make no attempt whatsoever, and that in due time they should receive all advertisements necessary; it being not thought fit to disclaim the having intelligence¹ with or hopes of the general, since it was very evident, that the opinion that he did design to serve the King, or that he would be at last obliged to do it whether he designed to do it or no, did really as much contribute to the advancement of his [majesty's] service as if he had dedicated himself to it. And the assurance that other men had that he had no such intention hindered those obstructions, jealousies, and interruptions, which very probably might have lessened his credit with his own army, or united all the rest of the forces against him.

144. There happened likewise at this time an accident that very much troubled the King, and might very probably have destroyed all the hopes that began to flatter him. Upon the

¹ ['no intelligence,' MS.]

1660 dissolution of the Parliament, which put an end to all the power and authority of those who had been the chief instruments of all the monstrous things which had been done, the highest despair seized upon all who had been the late King's judges, who were sure to find all the hard measure from the secluded members as they were to expect if the King himself had been restored. And all they who had afterwards concurred with them, and exercised the same power, who were called the *rump*, believed their ruin and destruction to be certain and at hand. And therefore they contrived all the ways they could to preserve themselves, and to prevent the assembling a new Parliament; which if they could interrupt, they made no doubt but the rump members would again resume the government, notwithstanding their dissolution by the power of the secluded members, who should then pay dear for their presumption and intrusion.

145. To this purpose they employed their agents amongst the officers and soldiers of the army, who had been disgracefully removed from their quarters in the Strand and Westminster, and the parts adjacent to London, to make room for general Munke's army, which was now looked upon as the sole confiding part of the army. They inflamed these men with the sense of their own desperate condition, who, having served throughout the war, should, besides the loss of all the arrears of pay due to them, be now offered as a sacrifice to the cavaliers, whom they had conquered, and who were implacably incensed against them. Nor did they omit to make the same infusions into the soldiers of general Munke's army, who had all the same title to the same fears and apprehensions. And when their minds were thus prepared, and ready to declare upon the

April 10¹. first opportunity, Lambert made his escape out of the Tower; that people having in all places so many of their combination, that they could compass their designs of that kind whenever they thought fit; though the general had as great a jealousy of this man's escape as of any thing that could fall out to supplant him. And therefore it may be presumed that he took all

¹ [*Mercur. Polit.*, No. 615, p. 1253.]

possible care to prevent it: and they who then had the com-¹⁶⁶⁰mand of the place were notoriously known neither to love his [Lambert's] person nor to favour his designs.

146. This escape of Lambert in such a conjuncture, the most perilous that it could fall out in, put the general and the Council of State into a great agony. They knew well what poison had been scattered about the army, and what impression it had made in the soldiers. Lambert was the most popular man, and had the greatest influence upon them, and though they had lately deserted him, they had sufficiently published their remorse, and their detestation of those who had seduced and cozened them. So that there was little doubt to be made, now he was at liberty, but that they would flock and resort to him as soon as they should know where to find him. On the other hand, no small danger was threatened from the very drawing the army together to a rendezvous in order to prosecute and oppose him, no man being able to make a judgment what they would choose to do in such a conjuncture, when they were so full of jealousy and dissatisfaction. And it may very reasonably be believed, that if he had, after he found himself at liberty, lain concealed till he had digested the method he meant to proceed in, and procured some place to which the troops might resort to declare with him when he should appear, (which had been very easy then for him to have done,) he would have gone near to have shaken and dissolved the model that the general had made.

147. But either [through] the fear of his security and being betrayed into the hands of his enemy, (as all kind of treachery was at that time very active, as he had experience of,) or the presumption that the army would obey him upon his first call, and that if he could draw a small part to him the rest would never appear against him, he precipitated himself to make an attempt before he was ready for it or it for him, and so put it into his enemy's power to disappoint and control all. He stayed not at all in London, as he ought to have done, but hastened into the country, and trusting a gentleman in Buckinghamshire whom he thought himself sure of, the general had

1660 quickly notice in what quarter he was: yet with marvellous expedition he [Lambert] drew four troops of the army to him, with which he had the courage to appear near Daintry in Northamptonshire, a country infamously famous for disaffection to the King and for adhering to the Parliament; where he presumed he should be attended by other parts of the army, before it should be known at Whitehall where he was and that any forces could be sent from thence against him: of which he doubted not, from his many friends, he should have seasonable notice.

148. But the general, upon his first secret intimation of his being in Buckinghamshire, and of the course he meant to take, had committed it to the charge and care of colonel Ingol[d]sby, (who was well known to be very willing and desirous to take revenge upon Lambert for his malice to Oliver and Richard, and the affront he had himself received from him,) to attend and watch all his motion with his own regiment of horse; which was the more faithful to him for having been before seduced by Lambert to desert him. He [Ingoldsby] used so much diligence in waiting upon his [Lambert's] motion, before he was suspected to be so near, that one of Lambert's four captains¹ fell into the hands of his forlorn hope, who made him prisoner and brought him to their colonel. The captain was very well known to Ingol[d]sby, who after some conference with him gave him his liberty, upon his promise that he would himself retire to his house, and send his troop to obey his commands; which promise he observed; and the next day his troop, under his cornet and quartermaster, came to Ingol[d]sby and informed him where Lambert was; who thereupon made haste, and was in his view before he [Lambert] had notice that he was pursued by him.

April 23. 149. Surprised with this discovery, and finding that one of his troops had forsaken him, he [Lambert] found his enemy much superior to him in number, and therefore sent to desire that they might treat together, which the other was content to do. Lambert proposed to him that they might restore Richard to be Protector, and promised to unite all his credit to the

¹ [capt. Haselrig.]

support of that interest. But Ingol[d]sby (besides that he well understood the folly and impossibility of that undertaking) had devoted himself to a better interest, and adhered to the general because he presumed that he did intend to serve the King, and so rejected this overture. Whereupon both parties prepared to fight, when another of Lambert's troops forsaking him, and putting themselves under his enemy, he concluded that his safety would depend upon his flight; which he thought to secure by the swiftness of his horse. But Ingol[d]sby keeping his eye still upon him, and being as well horsed, overtook him and made him his prisoner, after he had in vain used great and much importunity to him that he would permit him to escape.

150. With him were taken Okey, Axtell, Cobbett, Creed¹, and many other officers of the greatest interest with the fanatic part of the army, and who were most apprehended by the general in a time when all the ways were full of soldiers who endeavoured to repair to them; so that if they had not been crushed in that instant they would in very few days have appeared very formidable. Ingol[d]sby returned to London, and brought his prisoners to the Privy Council, who committed Lambert again to the Tower with a stricter charge, with some other of the officers, and sent the rest to other prisons. This very seasonable victory looked to all men as a happy omen to the succeeding Parliament, which was to assemble the next day after the prisoners were brought before the Council, and which would not have appeared with the same cheerfulness if Lambert had remained still in arms, or, in truth, if he had been still at liberty.

151. In this interval between the dissolution of the last and convention of the new Parliament, the Council of State did many prudent actions, which were good presages that the future councils would proceed with moderation. They released sir George Booth from his imprisonment, that he might be elected to sit in the ensuing Parliament, as he shortly after was, and set at liberty all those who had been committed for adhering to him. Those of the King's party who had sheltered

¹ [Okey and Axtell escaped. *Merc. Publicus*, No. 17, p. 270; White-locke's *Memorials*.]

1660 themselves in obscurity appeared now abroad, and conversed without control; and Mr. Mordant, who was known to be entirely trusted by the King, walked into all places with freedom; and many of the Council, and some officers of the army, as Ingol[d]sby and Huntington, made, through him, tender of their services to the King.

152. But that which seemed of most importance was the reformation they made in the navy, which was full of sectaries, and under the government of those who of all men were declared the most republical. The present command of the fleet prepared for the summer service was under vice-admiral Lawson, an excellent seaman, but a notorious Anabaptist, who had filled the fleet with officers and mariners of the same principles. And they well remembered how he had the year before besieged the city, and by the power of his fleet given that turn which overturned the Committee of Safety, and restored the rump Parliament to the exercise of their jurisdiction; for which he stood high in reputation with all that party. The Council resolved, though they thought not fit or safe to remove him, yet so far to eclipse him that he should not have it so absolutely in his power to control them; and in order to this they concluded that they

March 2. would call Mountague¹; who had lain privately in his own house under a cloud and jealousy of being inclined too much to the King, and make the general (who was not to be left out in any thing) and him joint admirals of the fleet; whereby Mountague would only go to sea, and have the ships under his command; by which he might take care for good officers and seamen for such other ships as they meant to add to the fleet, and would be able to observe, if not reform, the rest. Mountague sent privately over to the King for his approbation before he would accept the charge, which being speedily sent to him he came to London, and entered into that joint command with the general, and immediately applied himself to put the fleet into so good order that he might comfortably serve in it. Since there was no man who betook himself to his majesty's service with more gene-

¹ [Clarendon here, and in following instances, spells the name *Mountague*.]

rosity than this gentleman, it is fit in this place to enlarge con- 1680
cerning him and his correspondence which he held with the King.

153. Mountague was of a family too much addicted to inno-
vations in religion, and that in the beginning of the troubles
appeared against the King ; though his father, who had been a
long servant to the Crown, never could be prevailed upon to
swerve from his allegiance, and took all the care he could to
restrain this his only son within those limits ; but being young,
and more out of his father's control by being married into a
family which at that time also trod awry¹, he was so far wrought
upon by the caresses of Cromwell, that, out of pure affection to
him, he was persuaded to take command in the army when it was
new modelled under Fayrefax, and when he was little more than
twenty years of age. He served in that army in the condition
of a colonel till the end of the war, with the reputation of a very
stout and sober young man ; and from that time Cromwell, (to
whom he passionately adhered,) took him into his nearest con-
fidence, and sent him, first, joined in commission with Blake,
and then in the sole command of several expeditions by sea, in
which he was successful and discreet. And though all men
looked upon him as devoted to Cromwell's interest, in all other
respects he behaved himself with civility to all men, and without
the least show of acrimony towards any who had served the
King ; and was so much in love with that government [mon-
archy,] that he was one of those who most desired and advised
Cromwell to accept and assume that title, when it was offered
to him by the Parliament. He was designed by him to com-
mand the fleet that was to mediate, as was pretended, in the 1659
Sound, between the two Kings of Sweden and Denmark, but March.
was in truth to hinder the Dutch from assisting the Dane against
the Swede, with whom Oliver was engaged in an unseparable
alliance. He was in this expedition when Richard was scorn-
fully thrown out of the Protectorship, and was afterwards
joined (for they knew not how to leave him out whilst he had 1659
that command) with Sidney and the other plenipotentiaries which July 1.

¹ [He married, 7 Nov. 1642, Jemima, daughter of John, afterwards first lord Crewe of Stene.]

1659 the rump Parliament sent to reconcile those Crowns. As soon as Richard was so cast down, the King thought Mountague's relations and obligations were at an end, and was advised by those who knew him to invite him to his service.

154. There accompanied him at that time Edward Mountague, the eldest son of the lord Mountague of Boughton, and his cousin german, with whom he had a particular friendship. This gentleman was not unknown to the King, and very well known to the Chancellor to have good affections and resolutions, and who, by the correspondence that was between them, he knew had undertaken that unpleasant voyage only to dispose his cousin to lay hold on the first opportunity to serve his majesty¹. At this time sir George Booth appeared, and all those designs were laid, which were reasonably hoped would engage the whole kingdom against that odious part of the Parliament which was then possessed of the government; and it was now thought a very seasonable conjuncture to make an experiment whether Mountague with his fleet would declare for the King.

155. The Chancellor hereupon prepared such a letter in his own name as his majesty thought fit², to invite him to that resolution, from the distraction of the time, and the determination of all those motives which had in his youth first provoked him to those engagements. He informed him of sir George Booth's being possessed of Chester, and in the head of an army, and that his majesty was assured of many other places and of a general combination between the persons of greater interest to declare for the King; and that if he would bring his fleet upon the coast, his majesty or the duke of York would immediately be on board with him. This letter was enclosed in another to Edward Mountague, to be by him delivered or not delivered as he thought fit, and committed to the care of an express³ who

¹ [See *Clar. S. P.*, iii. 497-8; letter from Hyde to Edw. Montague of June 20, 1659.]

² [The King himself wrote to Montague on July 4, N. S.; the draft by Hyde of the letter is among the Clarendon MSS.]

³ [sir Thomas Whetstone. Instructions for him from the King, dated July 3, are among the Clarendon MSS.]

was then thought not to be without some credit with the admiral 1659 himself; which was not true. However, the messenger was diligent in prosecuting his voyage, and arrived safely at Copenhagen, where the fleet lay, and where all the plenipotentiaries from the Parliament then were; and without difficulty he found opportunity to deliver his letter to the person to whom it was directed; who the same night delivered the other to his cousin, who received it cheerfully, and was well pleased with the hopes of sudden revolutions in England.

156. They were both of them puzzled how to behave themselves towards the messenger, who was nothing acceptable to them, being very well known to the fleet, where, though he had had good command, he had no credit; and had appeared so publicly, by the folly of good fellowship, that the admiral and many others had seen him and taken notice of him before he knew that he brought any letter for him. The conclusion was, that he should without delay be sent away without speaking with the admiral, or knowing that he knew any thing of his errand; but Edward Mountague writ such a letter to the Chancellor as was evidence enough that his majesty would not be disappointed in his expectation of any service that the other person could perform for him. And with this answer the messenger returned to Bruxells, where there was a great alteration from the time he had left it.

157. Within few days after this man's withdrawing from Copenhagen, of whose being there the plenipotentiaries were so jealous that they resolved to require of the King [of Denmark] that he might be committed to prison, admiral Mountague declared that he should not be able to stay longer there for the want of victual, of which he had not more than would serve to carry him home; and therefore desired that they would press both Kings and the Dutch plenipotentiaries to finish the negotiation. By this time the news of the revolutions in England made a great noise, and were reported, according to the affections of that place from whence, and of the persons who sent letters thither, more to the King's advantage than there was reason for; and the other plenipotentiaries came to know that

1659 the man of whom they were so jealous had privately spoken with Edward Mountague, who was very well known and very ill thought of by them. And from thence they concluded that the admiral, who had never pleased them, was no stranger to his negotiation; in which jealousy they were quickly confirmed when they saw him with his fleet under sail, making his course for England, without giving them any notice or taking his leave of them; which if he had done, they had secret authority from their coming thither (upon the general apprehension of his inclination) to have secured his person on board his own ship, and to have disposed of the government of the fleet; which being thus prevented, they could do no more than send expresses overland, to acquaint the Parliament of his departure, with all the aggravation of his pride, presumption, and infidelity, which the bitterness of their natures and wits could suggest to them.

158. When the fleet arrived near the coast of England, they found sir George Booth defeated, and all persons who pretended any affection for the King so totally crushed, and the Parliament in so full exercise of its tyrannical power, that poor Mountague
 Sept. 14. had nothing to do but to justify his return by his scarcity of provisions, which must have failed if he had stayed till the winter (which was drawing on) had shut him up in the Sound; and his return was upon the joint advice with the flag-officers of the fleet; there being not a man but his cousin who knew any other reason of his return, or was privy to his purposes. So that as soon as he had presented himself to the Parliament and laid down his command, they deferred the examination of the whole matter, upon the complaints which they had received from their commissioners, till they could be at more leisure, for it was then about the time that they grew jealous of Lambert; so that he went quietly into the country, and remained neglected and forgotten till those revolutions were over which were produced by Lambert's invasion and general Munke's march into England, and till the name and title of the Parliament was totally abolished and extinguished. And then the Council of State called him to resume the command of another fleet, which he accepted in the manner aforesaid; which, together with the

other good symptoms in the State, raised his majesty's hopes 1660 and expectation higher than ever, if it had not been a[n] unpleasant alloy, that, in so general an alteration and application of many who had been eminently averse from his majesty, of the general only, who could put an end to all the rest, there was *altum silentium*; no person trusted by his majesty could approach him, nor did any word fall from him that could encourage them to go to him, though they still presumed that he meant well.

159. The general was weary and perplexed with his unwieldy burden, yet knew not how to make it lighter by communication. He spent much time in consultation with persons of every interest, the King's party only excepted, with whom he would hold no conference; though he found in his every day's discourses in the city with those who were thought to be Presbyterians, and with other persons of quality and consideration, that the people did generally wish for the King, and that they did believe that there could be no firm and settled peace in the nation that did not comprehend his interest and compose the prejudice that was against his party. But then there must be strict conditions to which he must be bound, which it should not be in his power to break, and which might not only secure all who had borne arms against him, but such who had purchased the lands of the Crown or of bishops or of delinquents; and nobody spake more moderately than for the confirming all that had been offered by his father in the Isle of Wight.

160. Whether by invitation or upon his own desire, he was present at Northumberland House in a conference with that earl, the earl of Manchester, and other lords, and likewise with Hollis, Waller, Lewes, and other eminent persons, who had a trust and confidence in each other, and who were looked upon as the heads and governors of the moderate Presbyterian party, though most of them would have been very glad, their own security being provided for, that the King should be restored to his full rights and the Church to its possessions. In this conference the King's restoration was proposed in direct terms, as absolutely necessary to the peace of the

1680 kingdom and for the satisfaction of the people, and the question seemed only to be upon what terms they should admit him, some proposing more moderate, others more severe, conditions. And in this whole debate the general insisted upon the most rigid propositions; which he pressed in such a manner that the lords grew jealous that he had such an aversion from restoring the King that it would not be safe for them to prosecute that advice; and therefore to acquiesce till the Parliament met, and that they could make some judgment of the temper of it.

161. And the general, though he consulted with those of every faction with much freedom, yet was thought to have more familiarity and to converse more freely with sir Arthur Haslerigge, who was irreconcilable¹ to monarchy, and looked upon as the chief of that repub[lican] party which desired not to preserve any face of government in the Church and in the public exercise of religion. And this made the lords and all others who were of different affections very wary in their discourses with the general, and jealous of his inclinations.

162. There was at this time in much conversation and trust with the general a Devonshire gentleman, of a fair estate and reputation, one Mr. William Morrice, a person of a retired life, which he spent in study, being learned and of good parts, and had been always looked upon as a man far from any malice towards the King, if he had not good affection for him, which they who knew him best believed him to have in a good measure. This gentleman was allied to the general, and entirely trusted by him in the managery of his estate in that country, where by the death of his elder brother without heirs males he inherited a fair fortune. And being chosen to serve in the next ensuing Parliament, he had made haste to London, the better to observe how things were like to go. With him the general consulted freely all his perplexities and observations; how he found most men of quality and interest inclined to call in the King, but upon such conditions as must be

¹ ['irreconcilable,' MS.]

very ungrateful, if possible to be received; and the London 1660 ministers talked already so loudly of it, that they had caused the Covenant to be new printed, and to be secretly fixed up in all churches, where in their sermons they discoursed of the several obligations in it, that, without exposing themselves to the danger of naming him (which yet they did not long forbear,) every body understood that they thought it necessary that the people should return to their allegiance.

163. That which wrought most upon the general was the choice which was generally made in all countries for members to serve in Parliament, very many of them being known to be of singular affection to the King, and very few who did not heartily abhor the murder of his father and detest the government that succeeded; so that it was reasonably apprehended that when they should once meet, there would be a warmth amongst them that could not be restrained or controlled, and they might take the business so much into their own hands that they might leave no part to him to merit of the King, from whom he had yet deserved nothing.

164. Mr. Morrice was not wanting to cultivate those conceptions with the information of the affections of the west, where the King's restoration was, he said, so impatiently longed for, that they had made choice of no members to serve for Cornwall or Devonshire but such who they were confident would contribute all they could to invite the King to return; and when that subject was once upon the stage, they who concurred with most frankness would find most credit, and they who opposed it would be overborne with lasting reproach. When the general had reflected upon the whole matter, he resolved to advance what he clearly saw he should not be able to hinder, and so consulted with his friend, how he might manage it in that manner before the Parliament should assemble, that what followed might be imputed to his counsel and contrivance.

165. There was then in the town a gentleman well known to be a servant of trust to the King, sir John Greenevill, who from the time of the surrender of Silly had enjoyed his estate and liberty, though, under the jealousy of a disaffected person,

1660 often restrained. He had been privy to the sending the parson, his brother, to the general into Scotland, and was conversant only with those who were most trusted by his majesty, and at this time was taken notice of to have all intimacy with Mr. Mordant, who most immediately corresponded with Bruxells. This gentleman was of a family to which the general was allied and had been obliged to his father, sir Bevil Greenevill, who lost his life at the battle of Lansdowne for the King, and by his will commended his much impaired fortune, and his wife and children, to the care and counsel of his neighbour and friend Mr. Morrice, who had executed the trust with the utmost fidelity and friendship.

166. The general was content that sir John Greenevill should be trusted in this great affair, and that Mr. Morrice should bring him secretly to him, in a private lodging he had in St. James's. When he came to him, after he had solemnly conjured him to secrecy, upon the peril of his life, he told him he meant to send him to the King, with whom he presumed he had credit enough to be believed without any testimony, for he was resolved not to write, nor to give him anything in writing, but wished him to confer with Mr. Morrice, and to take short memorials in his own hand of those particulars which he should offer to him in discourse; which when he had done, he would himself confer with him again at an hour he should appoint. And so he retired hastily out of the room, as if he were jealous that other men would wonder at his absence.

167. That which Mr. Morrice communicated to him [Greenevill,] was, after he had enlarged upon the perplexity the general was in by the several humours and factions which prevailed, and that he durst not trust any officer of his own army, or any friend but himself, with his own secret purposes, he advised that the King should write a letter to the general, in which, after kind and gracious expressions, he should desire him to deliver the enclosed letter and declaration to the Parliament; the particular heads and materials for which letter and declaration he [Morrice] discoursed to him; the end of which was to satisfy all interests, and to comply with every man's humour, and indeed to suffer every man to enjoy what he would.

168. After sir John Greenevill had enough discoursed all 1660 particulars with him, and taken such short memorials for his memory as he thought necessary, within a day or two he was brought with the same wariness, and in another place, to the March 20. general, to whom he read the short notes he had taken, to which little was added; and he [the general] said, that if the King writ to that purpose, when he brought the letter to him he would keep it in his hands until he found a fit time to deliver it, or should think of another way to serve his majesty. Only he added another particular, as an advice absolutely necessary for the King to consent to, which was, his majesty's present remove out of Flanders. He undertook to know that the Spaniard had no purpose to do any thing for him, and that all his friends were jealous that it would not be in his power to remove from thence if he deferred it till they discovered that he was like to have no need of them. And therefore he desired that his majesty would make haste to Breda, and, for the public satisfaction, and that it might be evident he had left Flanders, whatsoever he should send in writing should bear date as from Breda; and he enjoined sir John Greenevill not to return till he had himself seen the King out of the dominions of Flanders. And thus instructed he left him, who, taking Mr. Mordant with him for the companion of his journey, set out for Flanders about the beginning of April 1660, and in few days arrived safely at Bruxells. March 26¹.

169. It was no unpleasant prospect to the King, nor of small advantage to him, that the Spaniards looked upon all these revolutions in England as the effects of the several animosities and emulations of the several factions amongst themselves; a contention only between the Presbyterian republicans on one side, and the Independent and Levelling party on the other, for superiority, and who should steer the government of the State, without the least reference to the King's interest, which would in no degree be advanced which side soever prevailed. And

¹ [Mordaunt left London on Monday before March 30, O. S., i. e. March 26; letter from major Wood to Hyde, among the Clarendon MSS. On March 30 Lady Mordaunt writes to Hyde that she hopes her husband is by that time with him; letter *ibid.*]

1660 therefore don Alonso, by his Irish agents, (who made him believe any thing,) continued firm to the Levellers, who, if they got the better of their enemies, he was assured would make a good peace with Spain; which above all things they desired: and if they were oppressed, he made as little doubt they would unite themselves to the King upon such conditions as he should arbitrate between them. And in this confidence he embraced all the ways he could to correspond with them, receiving such agents with all possible secrecy who repaired to him to Bruxells; and when instruments of most credit and importance would not adventure thither, he was contented to send some person who was trusted by him into Ze[a]land, to confer and treat with them. And in this kind of negotiation, which was very expensive, they cared not what money they disbursed, whilst they neglected the King, and suffered him to be without that small supply which they had assigned to him.

170. And in this temper were the Spanish ministers when Mr. Mordant and sir John Greenvill came to Bruxells. And they had so fully possessed the Court at Madrid with the same spirit, that when the Chancellor in his letters to sir H. Bennet, his majesty's resident there, intimated the hopes they had of a revolution in England to the advantage of the King, he answered plainly, that he durst not communicate any of those letters to the ministers there, who would laugh at him for abusing them, since they looked upon all those hopes of the King as imaginary and without foundation of sense, and upon his condition as most deplorable and absolutely desperate.

171. When sir John Greenvill had at large informed his majesty of the affairs of England, of the manner of the general's conference with him, [and] the good affection of Mr. Morrice, and had communicated the instructions and advices he had received, as his majesty was very glad that the general had thus far discovered himself, and that he had opened a door for correspondence, so he was not without great perplexity upon many particulars which were commended to be done; some of which he believed impossible and unpracticable, as, the leaving all men in the state they were in, and confirming their posses-

sion in all the lands which they held in England, Scotland, and 1660 Ireland, by purchase or donation, whether of lands belonging to the throne [and] Church, or such who, for adhering to his father and himself, were declared delinquents, and their lands confiscated and disposed of as they [their enemies] had thought fit ; [and] the complying with all humours in religion, and the granting a general liberty of conscience, was a violation of all the laws in force, and could not be comprehended to consist with the peace of the kingdom. No man was more disposed to a general act of indemnity and oblivion than his majesty was, which he knew, in so long and universal a guilt, was absolutely necessary ; but he thought it neither consistent with his honour or his conscience that those who sat as judges and condemned his father to be murdered should be comprehended in that act of pardon ; yet it was advised that there might be no exception, or that above four might not be excepted ; because it was alleged that some of them had facilitated the general's march by falling from Lambert, and others had barefaced advanced the King's service very much.

172. After great deliberation upon all the particulars, and weighing the importance of complying with the general's advice in all things which his conscience and honour would permit, his majesty directed such letters and declaration to be prepared as should be in a good degree suitable to the wishes and counsel of the general, and yet make the transaction of those things which he did not like the effect of the power of the Parliament rather than of his majesty's approbation. And the confidence he had upon the general election of honest and prudent men, and in some particular persons who he heard were already chosen, disposed him to make a general reference of all things which he could not reserve to himself to the wisdom of the Parliament, upon presumption that they would not exact more from him than he was willing to consent to ; since he well knew that, whatever title they assumed or he gave them, they must have another kind of Parliament to confirm all that was done by them, and without which they could not be safe and contented nor his majesty obliged.

173. The advice for his majesty's remove out of Flanders

1660 presently was not ingrateful, for he had reasons abundant to be weary of it; yet he was without any great inclination to Holland, where he had been as barbarously used as it was possible for any gentleman to be. But, besides the authority which the general's advice deserved to have, the truth is, his majesty could remove no whither else. France was equally excepted against, and equally unagreeable to the King, and the way thither must be through all the Spanish dominions. Dunkirk was a place in many respects desirable, because it was in the possession of the English, from whence he might embark for England upon the shortest warning. And upon the first alterations in England, after the peace between the two Crowns, the King had sent to Lockhart, the governor, and general of the English there, by a person of honour, well known and respected by him¹, to invite him to his service by the prospect he had of the revolutions like to ensue, which probably could not but be advantageous to the King, and by the uncertainty of his own condition upon any such alterations. The arguments were urged to him with clearness and force enough, and all necessary offers made to persuade him to declare for the King and to receive his majesty into that garrison; which might be facilitated by his majesty's troops, if he did not think his own soldiers enough at his devotion: but he could not be prevailed with, but urged the trust he had received, and the indecency of breaking it; though he confessed there was such a jealousy of him in the Council of State, for his relation and alliance to Cromwell, that he expected every day to be removed from that command; as shortly after he was². Whether this refusal proceeded from the punctuality of his nature, (for he was a man of parts and of honour,) or from his jealousy of the garrison, that they would not be disposed by him, (for though he was exceedingly beloved and

¹ [Major gen. Middleton. Letters from him to Hyde about his attempting to enter into communication with Lockhart, dated June 2 and 20, 1659, are among the Clarendon MSS.]

² [He was not removed. On Monday, June 9, 1659, he was called by express to England, and on June 26 wrote to Mazarin from Dover that Parliament and the Council had ordered him to resume his employment. Clarendon MSS.]

obeyed by them, yet they were all Englishmen, and he had none 1660 of his own nation but in his own family,) certain it is that at the same time he refused to treat with the King he refused to accept the great offers made to him by the cardinal, who had a high esteem of him, and offered to make him marshal of France, with great appointments of pensions and other emoluments, if he would deliver Dunkirk and Mardike into the hands of France, all which overtures he rejected. So that his majesty had no place to resort to preferable to Breda.

174. The King was resolved rather to make no mention of the murderers of his father than to pardon any of them and except four, as was proposed; and chose rather to refer the whole consideration of that affair, without any restriction, to the conscience of the Parliament; yet with such expressions and descriptions, that they could not but discern that he trusted them in confidence that they would do themselves and the nation right, in declaring their detestation, and preparing vengeance for that parricide. And from the time that the secluded members sat again with the rump, there was good evidence given that they would not leave that odious murder unexamined and unpunished; which the more disposed the King to depend upon their virtue and justice.

175. When the summons were sent out to call the Parliament, there was no mention or thought of a House of Peers, nor had the general mentioned any such thing to sir John Greenvill; nor did sir John himself or Mr. Mordant conceive that any of the Lords had a purpose to meet, but that all must depend upon the Commons. However, the King thought not fit to pass them by, but to have a letter prepared as well for them as for the House of Commons; and likewise another to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the city of London; who by adhering to the general were like to add very much to his authority.

176. When all those things were prepared and perused and approved by the King, which he resolved to send by sir John Greenvill to the general, (his and Mr. Mordant's being in Bruxells being unknown, and they, attending his majesty only in the night at the Chancellor's lodging, concealed themselves

1660 from being taken notice of by any,) his majesty visited the marquis of Caracena, and told him that he intended the next day to go to Antwerp, and from thence to Breda, to spend two or three days with his sister the Princess of Aurange, to whom the dukes of York and Gloster were already gone to acquaint her with the King's purpose; and his majesty likewise in confidence informed him, that there were some persons come from England, who would not venture to come to Bruxells, from whom he expected some propositions and information which might prove beneficial to him, which obliged him to make that journey to confer with them.

177. The marquis seemed to think that of little moment, and said that don Alonso expected every day to receive assurance that the Levellers would unite themselves to the King's interest upon more moderate conditions than they had hitherto made; but desired his majesty that the duke of York might hasten his journey into Spain, to receive the command that was there reserved for him; and the King desired him, that the forces he had promised for his service might be ready against his return to be embarked upon the first appearance of a hopeful occasion. And so they parted; and his majesty went the next day to Antwerp with that small retinue he used to travel with.

March 21,
O. S.¹

[178^a. His departure was some hours earlier than the marquis imagined; and the reason of it was this: in that night, one Mr. William Galloway, an Irish young man, page at that time to don Alonzo de Cardinas, came to the Lord Chancellor's lodgings, and finding his secretary in his own room, told him he must needs speak presently with his lord; for he had something to impart to him that concerned the King's life. The Chancellor, though at that time in bed, ordered him to be admitted; and the poor man trembling told him, that his lord don Alonzo and the marquis of Carracena had been long together that evening, and that himself had overheard them saying something of sending a guard to attend the King; that about an hour after, they parted, and the marquis sent a paper

¹ [Sir W. Lower's *Relation of the voyage of Charles II.*, fol. Hague, 1660, p. 5.]

² [This section is only found in the transcript used for the first edition, written on a small quarto page by a different hand.]

to don Alonzo, who, when he went to bed, laid it on his table : 1660 that himself, who lay in his master's antechamber, looked into the paper when his master was in bed, and seeing what it was, had brought it to the Chancellor. It imported an order to an officer to attend the King with a party of horse for a guard wherever he went, (a respect that never had been paid him before,) but not to suffer him on any terms to go out of the town. As soon as the Chancellor had read the order, he sent his secretary with it to the King, who was in bed likewise ; and his majesty having read it, the secretary returned it to Gallo-way, who went home, and laid it in its place upon his master's table. The King commanded the Chancellor's secretary to call up his majesty's quarry, sir William Armorer, and to him his majesty gave his orders, charging him with secrecy that he would be gone at three of the clock that morning : and accordingly he went, attended by the marquis of Ormonde, sir William Armorer, and two or three servants more. Between eight and nine that morning, an officer did come and inquire for the King ; but it happened, by this seasonable discovery, that his majesty had made his escape some hours before, to the no small mortification, no doubt, of the Spanish governor.]

179. And as soon as he came into the States' dominions, which was the midway between Antwerp and Breda, he delivered to sir John Greenevill (who attended there *incognito*, that he might warrantably aver to the general that he had seen his majesty out of Flanders) all those despatches which were prepared and dated as from Breda, upon the same day in which he received them, and where his majesty was to be that night. The copies of all were likewise delivered to him, that the general, upon perusal thereof, might choose whether he would deliver the originals, if any thing was contained therein which he disliked ; and his majesty referred it to him to proceed any other way, if, upon any alterations which had or should happen, he thought fit to vary from his former advice.

180. Sir John Greenevill before his departure told the King that though he had no order to propose it directly to his majesty, yet he could assure him that it would be the most grateful

1660 and obliging thing he could do towards the general, if he would give him leave to assure him, that as soon as he came into England he would bestow the office of one of the Secretaries of State upon Mr. Morrice, who was as well qualified for it as any man who had not been versed in the knowledge of foreign affairs. One of those places was then void by the earl of Bristol's becoming Roman Catholic, and thereupon resigning the signet; and his majesty was very glad to lay that obligation upon the general, and to gratify a person who had so much credit with him, and who had already given such manifestation of his good affection to his majesty, and directed him to give that assurance to the general. And with these despatches Mr. Mordant (who privately expected his return at Antwerp) and sir John Greenvill made what haste they could towards England; and the April 4, King went that night to Breda. The letters which the King
O.S. writ to the general and to the House of Commons, and the Declaration, are here inserted in the terms they were sent.

181. '*To our trusty and well-beloved general Monck, to be by him¹ communicated to the President and Council of State, and to the officers of the armies under his command².*

' Charles R.

'Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. It cannot be believed but that we have been, are, and ever must be, as solicitous as we can, by all endeavours, to improve the affections of our good subjects at home, and to procure the assistance of our friends and allies abroad, for the recovery of that right which, by the laws of God and man, is unquestionable, and of which we have been so long dispossessed by such force, and with those circumstances, as we do not desire to aggravate by any sharp expressions, but rather wish that the memory of what is past may be buried to the world. That we have more endeavoured to prepare and to improve the affections of our subjects at home for our restoration, than to procure assistance from abroad to invade either of our kingdoms, is as manifest to the world. And we cannot give a better evidence that we are still of the same mind than in this conjuncture, when common reason must satisfy all men that we cannot be without assistance from abroad, we choose rather to send to you, who have it in your power to prevent that ruin and desolation which a war would bring upon the nation, and to make the whole

¹ [The words 'by him' are omitted in the superscription in the *Commons' Journals*.]

² [The letters to Monck and the House of Commons and the Declaration are inserted in the MS. by the hand of an amanuensis. The superscriptions are here transferred to the head of the letters from their end.]

kingdom owe the peace, happiness, security, and glory it shall enjoy, to 1660
 your virtue, and to acknowledge that your armies have complied with
 their obligations for which they were first raised, for the preservation of
 the Protestant religion, the honour and dignity of the King, the privileges
 of Parliament, the liberty and property of the subject, and the fundamental
 laws of the land; and that you have vindicated that trust which others
 most perfidiously abused and betrayed. How much we desire and resolve
 to contribute to those good ends will appear to you by our enclosed Decla-
 ration; which we desire you to cause to be published for the information
 and satisfaction of all good subjects, who do not desire a farther effusion
 of precious Christian blood, but to have their peace and security founded upon
 that which can only support it, an unity of affections amongst ourselves,
 an equal administration of justice to men, restoring Parliaments to a full
 capacity of providing for all that is amiss, and the laws of their land to
 their due veneration.

182. 'You have been yourselves witnesses of so many revolutions, and
 have had so much experience how far any power and authority that is only
 assumed by passion and appetite, and not supported by justice, is from
 providing for the happiness and peace of the people, or from receiving any
 obedience from them, (without which no government can provide for them,)
 that you may very reasonably believe that God hath not been well pleased
 with the attempts that have been made, since he hath usually increased
 the confusion by giving all the success that hath been desired, and brought
 that to pass without effect which the designers have proposed as the best
 means to settle and compose the nation: and therefore we cannot but hope
 and believe that you will concur with us in the remedy we have applied,
 which, to human understanding, is only proper for the ills we all groan
 under, and that you will make yourselves the blessed instruments to bring
 this blessing of peace and reconciliation upon King and people; it being
 the usual method in which divine Providence delighteth itself, to use and
 sanctify those very means which ill men design for the satisfaction of
 private and particular ends and ambition, and other wicked purposes, to
 wholesome and public ends, and to establish that good which is most con-
 trary to the designers; which is the greatest manifestation of God's peculiar
 kindness to a nation that can be given in this world. How far we resolve
 to preserve your interests and reward your services, we refer to our Decla-
 ration; and we hope God will inspire you to perform your duty to us and to
 your native country, whose happiness cannot be separated from each other.

183. 'We have intrusted our well-beloved servant sir John Greenville,
 one of the gentlemen of our bedchamber, to deliver this unto you, and to
 give us an account of your reception of it, and to desire you, in our name,
 that it may be published. And so we bid you farewell.

'Given at our Court at Breda, this 14th of April, 1660, in the
 twelfth year of our reign.'

184. '*To our trusty and well-beloved the Speaker of the House of Commons.*

'Charles R.

'Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. In these great and in-
 supportable afflictions and calamities under which the poor nation hath

1660 been so long exercised, and by which it is so near exhausted, we cannot think of a more natural and proper remedy than to resort to those for counsel and advice who have seen and observed the first beginning of our miseries, the progress from bad to worse, and the mistakes and misunderstandings which have produced, and contributed to, inconveniences which were not intended, and, after so many revolutions and the observation of what hath attended them, are now trusted by our good subjects to repair the breaches which are made, and to provide proper remedies for those evils, and for the lasting peace, happiness, and security of the kingdom.

185. 'We do assure you upon our royal word that none of our predecessors have had a greater esteem of Parliaments than¹ we have, in our judgment as well as from our obligation; we do believe them to be so vital a part of the constitution of the kingdom, and so necessary for the government of it, that we well know neither prince nor people can be in any tolerable degree happy without them; and therefore you may be confident that we shall always look upon their counsels as the best we can receive, and shall be as tender of their privileges, and as careful to preserve and protect them, as of that which is most near to ourself, and most necessary for our own preservation.

186. 'And as this is our opinion of Parliaments, that their authority is most necessary for the government of the kingdom, so we are most confident that you believe and find that the preservation of the King's authority is as necessary for the preservation of Parliaments; and that it is not the name², but the right constitution, of them which can prepare and apply proper remedies for those evils which are grievous to the people, and which can thereby establish their peace and security. And therefore we have not the least doubt but that you will be as tender in, and as jealous of, any thing that may infringe our honour or impair our authority, as of your own liberty and property, which is best preserved by preserving the other.

187. 'How far we have trusted you in this great affair, and how much it is in your power to restore the nation to all that it hath lost, and to redeem it from any infamy it hath undergone, and to make King and people as happy as they ought to be, you will find by our enclosed Declaration, a copy of which we have likewise sent to the House of Peers; and you will easily believe that we would not voluntarily, and of ourself, have reposed so great a trust in you but upon an entire confidence that you will not abuse it, and that you will proceed in such a manner, and with such due consideration of us who have trusted you, that we shall not be ashamed of declining other assistance, (which we have assurance of,) and repairing to you for more natural and proper remedies for the evils we would be freed from, nor sorry that we have bound up our own interests so entirely with that of our subjects, as that we refer it to the same persons to take care of us who are trusted to provide for them. We look upon you as wise and dispassionate men, and good patriots, who will raise up those banks and fences which have been cast down, and who will most reasonably hope that the same prosperity will again spring from those roots from which it

¹ ['as,' *Commons' Journals*.]

² [*Commons' Journals*; 'in the name,' MS.]

hath heretofore and always grown; nor can we apprehend that you will 1660
propose any thing to us, or expect any thing from us, but what¹ we are as
ready to give as you to receive.

188. 'If you desire the advancement and propagation of the Protestant religion; we have, by our constant profession and practice of it, given sufficient testimony to the world, that neither the unkindness of those of the same faith towards us, nor the civilities and obligations from those of a contrary profession, (of both which we have had abundant evidence,) could in the least degree startle us, or make us swerve from it; and nothing can be proposed to manifest our zeal and affection for it to which we will not readily consent. And we hope, in due time, ourself to propose somewhat to you for the propagation of it, that will satisfy the world that we have always made it both our care and our study, and have enough observed what is most like to bring disadvantage to it.

189. 'If you desire security for those who in these calamitous times either wilfully or weakly have transgressed those bounds which were prescribed, and have invaded each other's rights; we have left to you to provide for their security and indemnity, and in such a way as you shall think just and reasonable, and by a just computation of what men have done and suffered, as near as is possible, to take care that all men be satisfied; which is the surest way to suppress and extirpate all such uncharitableness and animosity, as might hereafter shake and threaten that peace which for the present might seem established. If there be a crying sin, for which the nation may be involved in the infamy that attends it, we cannot doubt but that you will be as solicitous to redeem and vindicate the nation from that guilt and infamy as we can be.

190. 'If you desire that reverence and obedience may be paid to the fundamental laws of the land, and that justice may be equally and impartially administered to all men; it is that which we desire to be sworn to ourself, and that all persons in power and authority should be so too.

191. 'In a word, there is nothing that you can propose that may make the kingdom happy, which we will not contend with you to compass; and upon this confidence and assurance we have thought fit to send you this Declaration, that you may, as much as is possible at this distance, see our heart; which, when God shall bring us nearer together, (as we hope he will do shortly,) will appear to you very agreeable to what we have professed; and we hope that we have made that right Christian use of our affliction, and that the observation and experience we have had in other countries hath been such, as that we, and we hope all our subjects, shall be the better for what we have seen and suffered.

192. 'We shall add no more but our prayers to Almighty God, that he will so bless your counsels and direct your endeavours, that his glory and worship may be provided for, and the peace, honour, and happiness of the nation may be established upon those foundations which can best support it. And so we bid you farewell.

'Given at our Court at Breda, this 4th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.'

¹ ['that,' *Commons' Journals*.]

1660 193.

His majesty's Declaration.

‘Charles R.

‘Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting. If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that, as we can never give over the hope in good time to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due, so we do make it our daily suit to the divine Providence, that he will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

194. ‘And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country in the restoration both of King, Peers, and people to their just, ancient, and fundamental rights, we do by these presents declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who within forty days after the publishing hereof shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall by any public act declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted¹ by Parliament. Those only excepted, let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a King, solemnly given by this present Declaration, that no crime whatsoever committed against us or our royal father before the publication of this shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question, against any of them, to the least endamage of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of our best subjects; we desiring and ordaining, that henceforward all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties, be utterly abolished among all our subjects; whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the re-settlement of our just rights and theirs, in a free Parliament; by which, upon the word of a King, we will be advised.

195. ‘And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood; we

¹ [‘accepted’ (f), *Commons’ Journals*.]

do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be dis- 1660
quieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence.

196. 'And because in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to and by many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law, upon several titles; we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in Parliament; which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

197. 'And we do farther declare, that we will be ready to consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for¹ the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of general Monck, and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

'Given under our sign manual, and privy signet, at our Court at Breda, the 4th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.'

198². *'To the Speaker of the House of Peers, and to the Lords there assembled.*

'Charles R.

'Right trusty and right well-beloved cousins, and right trusty and well-beloved cousins, and trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. We cannot have a better reason to promise ourself an end of our common sufferings and calamities, and that our own just power and authority will, with God's blessing, be restored to us, than that we hear you are again acknowledged to have that authority and jurisdiction which hath always belonged to you by your birth and the fundamental laws of the land; and we have thought it very fit and safe for us to call to you for your help, in the composing the confounding distempers and distractions of the kingdom, in which your sufferings are next to those we have undergone ourself; and therefore you cannot but be the most proper counsellors for removing those mischiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. How great a trust we repose in you, for the procuring and establishing a blessed peace and security for the kingdom, will appear to you by our enclosed Declaration; which trust we are most confident you will discharge with that justice and

¹ ['to,' *Commons' Journals.*]

² [The following three letters are not inserted in the MS., but only this direction with regard to two of them: 'Here are to be inserted the King's letters to the House of Peers, and to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, of the same date with the other.' The copies in the text are taken, the first from the Lords' Journals, and the others from the official copies printed at the time. But all the three are transcribed, somewhat incorrectly, in the MS. from which the first edition was printed.]

1660 wisdom that becomes you, and must always be expected from you; and that, upon your experience how one violation succeeds another when the known relations and rules of justice are once transgressed, you will be as jealous for the rights of the Crown, and for the honour of your King, as for yourselves: and then you cannot but discharge your trust with good success, and provide for and establish the peace, happiness, and honour of King, Lords, and Commons, upon that foundation which can only support it; and we shall be all happy in each other. And as the whole kingdom will bless God for you all, so we shall hold ourself obliged in an especial manner to thank you in particular, according to the affection you shall express towards us. We need the less enlarge to you upon this subject because we have likewise writ to the House of Commons; which, we suppose, they will communicate to you. And we pray God to bless your joint endeavours for the good of us all. And so we bid you very heartily farewell.

‘Given at our Court at Breda, this 4th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.’

199. ‘*To our trusty and well-beloved general Monck and general Mountague, generals at sea; to be communicated to the fleet.*’

‘Charles R.

‘Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. It is no small comfort to us, after so long and great troubles and miseries, which the whole nation hath groaned under, and after so great revolutions which have still increased those miseries, to hear, that the fleet and ships, which are the walls of the kingdom, are put under the command of two persons so well disposed to, and concerned in, the peace and happiness of the kingdom, as we believe you to be; and that the officers and seamen under your command are more inclined to return to their duty to us, and put a period to these distempers and distractions which have so impoverished and dishonoured the nation, than to widen the breach, and to raise their fortunes by rapine and violence; which gives us great encouragement and hope, that God Almighty will heal the wounds by the same plaister that made the flesh raw; that he will proceed in the same method in pouring his blessings upon us which he was pleased to use when he began to afflict us; and that the manifestation of the good affection of the fleet and seamen towards us, and the peace of the nation, may be the prologue to that peace which was first interrupted by the mistake and misunderstanding of their predecessors; which would be such a blessing upon us all, that we should not be less delighted with the manner than the matter of it.

200. ‘In this hope and confidence, we have sent the enclosed Declaration to you, by which you may discern how much we are willing to contribute towards the obtaining the general and public peace; in which, as no man can be more or so much concerned, so no man can be more solicitous for it. And we do earnestly desire you, that you will cause the said Declaration to be published to all the officers and seamen of the fleet; to the end that they may plainly discern how much we have put it into their power to provide for the peace and happiness of the nation, who have been always understood by them to be the best and most proper counsellors for

those good ends: and you are likewise further to declare to them, that we 1660 have the same gracious purpose towards them which we have expressed towards the army at land; and will be as ready to provide for the payment of all arrears due to them, and for rewarding them according to their several merits, as we have expressed to the other; and we will always take so particular a care of them, and their condition, as shall manifest our kindness towards them. And so, depending upon God's blessing for infusing those good resolutions in your and their hearts which are best for us all, we bid you farewell.

'Given at our Court at Breda, this 14th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.'

201. *'To our trusty and well-beloved the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, of our city of London.'*

'Charles R.

'Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. In these great revolutions which of late have happened in that our kingdom, to the wonder and amazement of all the world, there is none that we have looked upon with more comfort than the so frequent and public manifestations of their affections to us in the city of London; which hath exceedingly raised our spirits, and which, no doubt, hath proceeded from the Spirit of God, and his extraordinary mercy to the nation; which hath been encouraged by you, and your good example, to assert that government under which it hath so many hundred years enjoyed as great felicity as any nation in Europe, and to discountenance the imaginations of those who would subject our subjects to a government they have not yet devised, and, to satisfy the pride and ambition of a few ill men, would introduce the most arbitrary and tyrannical power that was ever yet heard of. How long we have all suffered under those and the like devices, all the world takes notice, to the no small reproach of the English nation; which we hope is now providing for its own security and redemption, and will be no longer bewitched by those inventions.

202. 'How desirous we are to contribute to the obtaining the peace and happiness of our subjects without further effusion of blood, and how far we are from desiring to recover what belongs to us by a war, if it can be otherwise done, will appear to you by the enclosed Declaration; which, together with this our letter, we have intrusted our right trusty and well-beloved cousin, the lord viscount Mordant, and our trusty and well-beloved servant, sir John Greenville, knight, one of the gentlemen of our bed-chamber, to deliver to you; to the end that you, and all the rest of our good subjects of that our city of London, (to whom we desire it should be published,) may know how far we are from the desire of revenge, or that the peace, happiness, and security of the kingdom should be raised upon any other foundation than the affections and hearts of our subjects and their own consents.

203. 'We have not the least doubt of your just sense of those our condescensions, or of your zeal to advance and promote the same good end, by disposing all men to meet us with the same affection and tenderness, in restoring the fundamental laws to that reverence that is due to them, and

1660 upon the preservation whereof all our happiness depends. And you will have no reason to doubt of enjoying your full share in that happiness, and of the improving it by our particular affection to you. It is very natural for all men to do all the good they can for their native country, and to advance the honour of it. And as we have that full affection for the kingdom in general, so we would not be thought to be without some extraordinary kindness for our native city in particular; which we shall manifest on all occasions, not only by renewing their charter, and confirming all those privileges which they have received from our predecessors, but by adding and granting any new favours which may advance the trade, wealth, and honour of that our native city; for which we will be so solicitous, that we doubt not but that it will in due time receive some benefit and advantage in all those respects, even from our own observation and experience abroad: and we are most confident we shall never be disappointed in our expectation of all possible service from your affections. And so we bid you farewell.

'Given at our Court by Breda, the [14th] day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.'

April 27. 204. The gentlemen who had been with the King returned to London before¹ the defeat of Lambert, and a full week before the Parliament was to begin². The general upon perusal of the copies of the several despatches liked all very well. And it ought to be remembered for his honour, that from this time he behaved himself with great affection towards the King; and, though he was offered all the authority that Cromwell had enjoyed and the title of King, he used all his endeavours to promote and advance the interest of his majesty: yet he as carefully retained the secret, and did not communicate to any person living, (Mr. Morrice only excepted,) that he had received any letter from the King until the very minute that he presented it to the House of Commons.

205. There happened a concurrence at the same time which much facilitated the great work in hand. The great obstruction that hind[er]ed the universal consent to call in the King was the conscience of the personal injuries and incivilities and reproaches which all the royal party had sustained, and the apprehension that their animosities were so great, that, notwithstanding all acts of pardon and indemnity granted by the King, all opportunities would be embraced for secret revenge, and that they who had been kept under and oppressed for near

¹ [four days after.]

² [two days after.]

twenty years would for the future use the power they could ¹⁶⁶⁰ not be without upon the King's restoration with extreme license and insolence. To obviate this too reasonable imagination, some discreet persons of the King's party caused a profession and protestation to be prepared, in which they declared that they looked upon their late sufferings as the effect of God's judgments upon their own particular sins, which had as much contributed to the miseries of the nation as any other cause had done; and they did therefore protest, and call God to witness of such their protestation, that if it should please God to restore the King, they would be so far from remembering any injuries or discourtesies which they had sustained, in order to return the like to any who had disobliged them, that they resolved on nothing more than to live with the same affection and good neighbourhood towards them as towards each other, and never to make the least reflection upon any thing that was past.

206. These professions, or to the same purpose, [were made] under the title of 'The Protestation of all those who had served the late King or his present majesty, or adhered to their party, in such a county,' which was named; and so several papers were signed in [that¹] name, and signed by all the considerable ^{April.} persons of that county who were reputed of the royal party; and then they were all printed with their names, and published to the view of all the world; which were received with great joy, and did much allay those jealousies which obstructed the confidence that was necessary to establish a good understanding between them.

207. Nothing hath been yet said of Ireland; which waited upon the dictates of the governing party in England with the same giddiness. The Irish, who would have been glad to have redeemed their past miscarriages and madness by doing any service for the King, were under as severe a captivity and complete misery as the worst of their actions had deserved, and indeed as they were capable of undergoing. After near or above one hundred² thousand of them transported into foreign

¹ ['the,' MS.]

² [altered from 'fifty.']

1660 parts, for the service of the two Kings of France and Spain, few of whom were alive after seven years, and after double that number consumed by the plague and famine, and inhuman barbarities exercised upon them in their own country, the remainder of them had been by Cromwell (who could not find a better way of extirpation) transplanted into the most inland, barren, desolate, and mountainous part of the province of Connaught; and it was lawful for any man to kill any of the Irish who were found in any place out of those precincts which were assigned to them. Within that circuit such a proportion of land was assigned to every man as the Protector thought competent for them; upon which they gave formal releases of all their pretences and titles to any lands in any other province of which they had been deprived; and if they refused to give such releases, they were still deprived of what they would not release, without any reasonable hope of ever being restored to it, and left to starve within the limits prescribed to them, and out of which they durst not withdraw; and they who did adventure were without all remorse killed by the English as soon as they were discovered: so that very few refused to sign those releases, or other acts which were demanded; upon which the lords and gentlemen had such assignments of land made to them as in some degree were proportionable to their qualities; which fell out less mischievously to those who were of that place, who came to enjoy some part of what had been their own; but to those who were driven thither out of other provinces, it was little less destructive than if they had nothing, it was so long before they could settle themselves, and by husbandry raise any thing out of their land to support their lives. Yet necessity obliged them to acquiescence, and to industry; so that at the time to which we are now arrived, they were settled, within the limits prescribed, in a condition of living; though even the hard articles which had been granted were not observed to them, but their proportions restrained and lessened by some pretences of the English under some former grants or other titles; to all which they found it necessary to submit, and were compelled to enjoy what was left, under all the marks and

brands which ever accompanied a conquered nation; which 1660 reproach they took so heavily from the earl of Strafford, when indeed they were equally free with the English who had subdued them, that they made it part of that charge upon which he lost his life.

208. Upon the recalling and tame submission of Harry Cromwell¹ to the rump Parliament as soon as his brother Richard was deposed, the factions increased in Ireland to a very great height, as well amongst the soldiers and officers of the army as in the Council of State and amongst the civil magistrates. The lord Broghill, who was president of Munster, and of a very great interest and influence upon that whole province, though he had great wariness in discovering his inclinations, as he had great guilt to restrain them, yet hated Lambert so much that he less feared the King, and so wished a safe opportunity to do him service; and he had a good post, and a good party to concur with him, when he should call upon them, and think fit to declare.

209. Sir Charles Coote, who was president of Connaugh[t], and had a good command and interest in the army, was a man of less wit and less guilt, and more courage and impatience to serve the King, and sent over sir Arthur Forbes, a Scotch gentleman of good affection to the King, and good interest in the province of Ulster, where he was an officer of horse. This gentleman sir Charles Coote sent to Bruxells to the marquis of Ormonde, that he might assure his majesty of his affection and duty; and that if his majesty would vouchsafe himself to come into Ireland, he was confident the whole kingdom would declare for him: that though the present power in England had removed all the sober men from the government of the State, under the character of Presbyterians, and had placed Ludlow, Corbett, and others of the King's judges, in their places, yet they were so generally odious to the army as well as to the people, that they could seize upon their persons, and the very castle of Dublin, when they should judge it convenient.

¹ [In this one instance Clarendon has written the name as *Cromwell* instead of *Crumwell*.]

- 1680 210. Sir Arthur Forbes arrived at Bruxells before the King had any assurance or confident hope of the general, and when few men thought his fortune better than desperate: so that if what sir Arthur proposed (which was kept very secret) had been published, most men would have been very solicitous for his majesty's going into Ireland. But his majesty well knew that that unhappy kingdom must infallibly wait upon the fate of England; and therefore he resolved to attend the vicissitudes there, which in his own thoughts he still believed would produce somewhat in the end of which he should be glad; and
- March 16, dismissed sir Arthur Forbes with such letters and commissions
N. S. as he desired, who thereupon returned for Ireland, where he found the state of affairs very much altered since his departure. For upon the defeat of Lambert, and general Munke's marching towards London, the lord Broghill and sir Charles Coote, notwithstanding the jealousy that was between them, joined with such other persons who were Presbyterians, and though they had been always against the King, yet they all concurred in seizing upon the persons who had been put in by Lambert or the rump Parliament, and submitted to the orders of general Munke, the rather because they did imagine that he intended to serve the King; and so by the time that the Parliament was to meet at Westminster all things were so well disposed in Ireland, that it was evident they would do whatsoever the general and the Parliament (who they presumed would be of one mind) should order them to do.
- Apr. 25. 211. The Parliament met upon the 25th of April; of which the general was returned a member, to serve as knight of the shire for the county of Devon, together with Mr. Morrice. Sir Harbottle Grimston was chosen Speaker, who had been a member of the Long Parliament, and continued rather than concurred with them till after the treaty of the Isle of Wight; where he was one of the commissioners sent to treat with the King, and behaved himself so well that his majesty was well satisfied with him; and after his return from thence pressed the acceptation of the King's concessions, and was thereupon in the number of those who were by force excluded from the

House. And his election to be Speaker at this time was con- 1660
trived by those who meant well to the King, and he submitted
to it out of a hope and confidence that the designs would suc-
ceed. They began only with bitter invectives against the
memory of Cromwell, as an odious and perjured tyrant, with
execrations upon the unchristian murder of the late King. And
in these generals they spent the first five days of their sitting;
no man having the courage, how loyal soever their wishes were,
to mention his majesty, till they could make a discovery what
mind the general was of, who could only protect such a pro-
position from being penal to the person that made it by their
former ordinances.

212. After he [the general] had well surveyed the temper
of the House, upon Tuesday the first of May he came into the May 1.
House, and told them one sir John Greenvill, who was a
servant of the King's, had brought him a letter from his
majesty, which he had in his hand, but would not presume to
open it without their direction, and that the same gentleman
was at the door, and had a letter to the House; which was no
sooner said than with a general acclamation he was called for;
and being brought to the bar, he said that he was commanded
by the King his master, having been lately with him at Breda,
to deliver that letter to the House, which he was ready to do;
and so, sending it by the sergeant to be delivered to the Speaker,
he withdrew.

213. The House impatiently called to have both the letters
read, that to the general and that to the Speaker; which being
done, the Declaration was as greedily called for, and read.
And from this time Charles Steward was no more heard of,
and so universal a joy was never seen within those walls; and
though there were some members there who were nothing de-
lighted with the temper of the House, nor with the argument
of it, and had malice enough to make within themselves the
most execrable wishes, yet they had not the hardness to appear
less transported than the rest: who, not deferring it one
moment, and without one contradicting voice, appointed a com-
mittee to prepare an answer to his majesty's letter, expressing

1660 the great and joyful sense the House had of his gracious offers, and their humble and hearty thanks for the same, and with professions of their loyalty and duty to his majesty; and that the House would give a speedy answer to his majesty's gracious proposals. They likewise ordered at the same time that both his majesty's letters, that to the House and that to the general, with his majesty's Declaration therein enclosed, and the resolution of the House thereupon, should be forthwith printed and published.

214. This kind of reception was beyond what the best affected, nay, even the King, could expect or hope; and all that followed went in the same pace. The Lords, when they saw what spirit the House was possessed of, would not lose their share of thanks, but make haste into the[ir] house, without excluding any who had been sequestered from sitting there for their delinquency; and then they received likewise the letter from sir John Greneville which his majesty had directed to them, and which they received with the same duty and acknowledgment. The [Lord] Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council were transported with the King's goodness towards them, and with the expressions of his royal clemency, and entered into close deliberation what return they should make to him to manifest their duty and gratitude. And the officers of the army, upon the sight of the letter to their general and his majesty's Declaration, thought themselves highly honoured in that they were looked upon as good instruments of his majesty's

May 2. restoration; and made those vows, and published such declarations, of their loyalty and duty as their general caused to be provided for them, which they signed with the loudest alacrity. And the truth is, he managed the business which he had now undertaken with wonderful prudence and dexterity; and as the nature and humour of his officers was well known to him, so he removed such from their commands whose affections he suspected, and conferred their places upon others of whom he was most assured. [In a word, there was either real joy in the hearts of all men, or at least their countenances appeared such as if they were glad at the heart.]

215. The committee who were appointed by the House of 1660 Commons to prepare an answer to the King's letter, found it hard to satisfy all men; who were well contented that the King should be invited to return, but they thought that the guilt of the nation did require less precipitation than was like to be used, and that the treaty ought first to be made with the King, and conditions of security, before his majesty should be received. Many of those who had conferred together before the meeting of the Parliament had designed some articles to be prepared, according to the model of those at Killingworth in the time of King Harry the Third, to which the King should be sworn before he came home. Then the Presbyterian party, of which there were many members in Parliament, though they were rather troublesome than powerful, seemed very solicitous that somewhat should be concluded in veneration of the Covenant, and at least that somewhat should be inserted in their answer to the discountenance of the bishops. But the warmer zeal of the House threw away all those formalities and affectations, and said they had proceeded too far already in their vote upon the reception of the letter to fall back again, and offend the King with colder expressions of their duty. In the end, after some days' ¹ debate, finding an equal impatience without the walls to that within the House, they were contented to gratify the Presbyterians in the length of the answer, and in using some expressions which would please them, and could do the King no prejudice; and all agreed that this answer should be re- May 2. turned to his majesty, which is here inserted in the very words.

216². 'Most royal Sovereign,

'We, your majesty's most loyal subjects, the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, do, with all humbleness, present unto your majesty the unfeigned thankfulness of our hearts, for those gracious expressions of piety and goodness, and love to us and the nations under your dominion, which your majesty's letter of 14th of April, dated from Breda, together with the Declaration enclosed in it of the same date, do so evidently contain. For which we do, in the first place, look up to the great

¹ [Some hours only.]

² [This copy of the answer is in the handwriting of an amanuensis.]

1660 King of kings, and bless his name, who hath put these thoughts into the heart of our King, to make him glorious in the eyes of his people; as those great deliverances which that divine Majesty hath afforded unto your royal person from many dangers, and the support which he hath given unto your heroic and princely mind under various trials, make it appear to all the world that you are precious in his sight. And give us leave to say, that as your majesty is pleased to declare your confidence in Parliaments, your esteem of them, and this your judgment and character of them, that they are so necessary for the government of the kingdom that neither prince nor people can be in any tolerable degree happy without them, and therefore say, that you will hearken unto their counsels, be tender of their privileges, and careful to preserve and protect them; so we trust, and will with all humility be bold to affirm, that your majesty will not be deceived in us, and that we will never depart from that fidelity which we owe unto your majesty, that zeal which we bear unto your service, and a constant endeavour to advance your honour and greatness.

217. 'And we beseech your majesty we may add this further, for the vindication of Parliaments, and even of the last Parliament convened under your royal father of happy memory, when (as your majesty well observes) through mistakes and misunderstandings many inconveniences were produced which were not intended; that those very inconveniences could not have been brought upon us by those persons who had designed them without violating the Parliament itself; for they well knew it was not possible to do a violence to that sacred person whilst the Parliament which had vowed and covenanted for the defence and safety of that person remained entire. Surely, sir, as the persons of our kings have ever been dear unto Parliaments, so we cannot think of that horrid act committed against the precious life of our late sovereign but with such a detestation and abhorrence as we want words to express it; and, next to wishing it had never been, we wish it may never be remembered by your majesty to be unto you an occasion of sorrow, as it will never be remembered by us but with that grief and trouble of mind which it deserves; being the greatest reproach that ever was incurred by any of the English nation, an offence to all the Protestant churches abroad, and a scandal to the profession of the truth of religion here at home; though both profession and true professors, and the nation itself, as well as the Parliament, were most innocent of it; having been only the contrivance and act of some few ambitious and bloody persons, and such others as by their influence were misled. And as we hope and pray that God will not impute the guilt of it, nor of all the evil consequences thereof, unto the land, whose divine justice never involves the guiltless with the guilty, so we cannot but give due praise unto your majesty's goodness, who are pleased to entertain such reconciled and reconciling thoughts, and with them not only meet, but as it were prevent, your Parliament and people, proposing yourself in a great measure, and inviting the Parliament to consider further, and advise your majesty, what may be necessary to restore the nation to what it hath lost, raise up again the banks and fences of it, and make the kingdom happy by the advancement of religion, the securing of our laws, liberties, and estates, and the removing of all jealousies and animosities which may render our peace less

certain and durable. Wherein your majesty gives a large evidence of your 1660 great wisdom ; judging aright, that, after so high a distemper, and such a universal shaking of the very foundations, great care must be had to repair the breaches, and much circumspection and industry used to provide things necessary for the strengthening of those repairs, and preventing whatsoever may disturb or weaken them.

218. 'We shall immediately apply ourselves to the preparing of these things, and in a very short time we hope to be able to present them to your majesty ; and for the present do, with all humble thankfulness, acknowledge your grace and favour in assuring of us of your royal concurrence with us, and saying, that we shall not expect any thing from you but what you will be as ready to give as we to receive. And we cannot doubt of your majesty's effectual performance, since your own princely judgment hath prompted unto you the necessity of doing such things, and your piety and goodness hath carried you to a free tender of them to your faithful Parliament. You speak as a gracious King, and we will do what befits dutiful, loving, and loyal subjects ; who are yet more engaged to honour and highly esteem your majesty, for your declining, as you were pleased to say, all foreign assistance, and rather trust to your people ; who, we do assure your majesty, will and do open their arms and their hearts to receive you, and will spare neither their estates nor their lives when your service shall require it of them.

219. 'And we have yet more cause to enlarge our praise and our prayers to God for your majesty, that you have continued unshaken in your faith ; that neither the temptation of allurements, persuasions, and promises from seducing Papists on the one hand, nor the persecution and hard usage from some seduced and misguided professors of the Protestant religion on the other hand, could at all prevail on your majesty to make you forsake the Rock of Israel, the God of your fathers, the true Protestant religion in which your majesty hath been bred ; but you have still been as a rock yourself, firm to your covenant with your and our God, even now expressing your zeal and affection for the Protestant religion, and your care and study for the propagation thereof. This hath been a rejoicing of heart to all the faithful of the land, and an assurance to them that God would not forsake you, but, after many trials, which should but make you more precious, as gold out of the fire, restore¹ your majesty unto your patrimony and people with more splendour and dignity, and make you the glory of kings and the joy of your subjects ; which is, and shall ever be, the prayer of your majesty's most loyal subjects, the Commons of England assembled in Parliament.'

Which letter was signed by sir Harbottle Grimston, Speaker.

220. As soon as this letter was engrossed and signed, sir John Greenvill was appointed to attend again ; and being May 3. brought to the bar, the Speaker stood up, and told him that 'they need not tell him with what grateful hearts they had

¹ ['to restore,' MS.]

1660 received his majesty's gracious letter; he himself was an ear and an eye-witness of it; their bells and their bonfires had already begun the proclamation of his majesty's goodness and of their joys; that they had now prepared an answer to his majesty, which should be delivered to him; and that they did not think it fit that he should return to their royal sovereign without some testimony of their respects to himself, and therefore that they had ordered five hundred pounds to be delivered to him, to buy a jewel to wear, as an honour for being the messenger of so gracious a message; and in the name of the House he gave him their hearty thanks.' So blessed a revolution it was, that a servant of the King's, who for near ten years together had been in prisons and under confinements only for being the King's servant, and would but three months before have been put to have undergone a shameful death if he had been known to have seen the King, should be now rewarded for bringing a message from him. And from this time there was such an emulation and impatience in Lords and Commons and city, and generally over the kingdom, who should make the most lively expressions of their duty and of their joy, that a man could not but wonder where those people dwelt who had done all the mischief, and kept the King so many years from enjoying the comfort and the support of such excellent subjects.

221. The Lords and the Commons now conferred together, how they might with most lustre perform those respects that might be preparatory to his majesty's return. They remembered, that upon the murder of the late King there was a declaration that no man, upon peril of his life and forfeiture of his estate, should presume to proclaim his successor; which so terrified the people, that they durst not so much as pray for him. Though the Parliament had, by all the ways they could think of, published their return to their obedience, yet they thought it necessary, for the better information and conviction of the people, to make some formal proclamation of his majesty's undoubted right to the Crown, and to oblige all men to pay that reverence and duty to him which they ought to do by the May 7. laws of God and of the land. Whereupon they gave order to

prepare such a proclamation; which being done, the Lords and Commons, (the general having concerted all things with the city), met in Westminster Hall upon the 8th of May, within seven days after the receipt of the King's letter, and walked into the Palace-yard, where they all stood bare whilst the heralds proclaimed the King. Then they went to Whitehall, and did the same; and afterwards at Temple Bar the Lord Mayor and aldermen and all the companies of the city received them, when the like proclamation was made in like manner there; and then in all the usual places of the city; which done, the remainder of the day and the night was spent in those acclamations, festivals, bells, and bonfires, as are the natural attendants upon such solemnities. Which done, nothing was thought of but to make such preparations as should be necessary for his majesty's invitation and reception. The proclamation made was in these words:

222¹. 'Although it can no way be doubted but that his majesty's right and title to his crown and kingdoms is and was every way completed by the death of his most royal father of glorious memory, without the ceremony or solemnity of a proclamation; yet, since proclamations in such cases have been always used, to the end that all good subjects might upon this occasion testify their duty and respect; and since the armed violence, and other the calamities, of many years last past [have²] hitherto deprived us of any such opportunity whereby³ we might express our loyalty and allegiance to his majesty; we therefore, the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, together with the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, and other freemen of this kingdom, now present, do, according to our duty and allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously [acknowledge and⁴] proclaim, that immediately upon the decease of our late sovereign lord King Charles the imperial crown of the realm of England, and of all the kingdoms, dominions, and rights belonging to the same, did, by inherent birthright and lawful undoubted succession, descend and come to his most excellent majesty Charles the Second, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully next heir of the blood royal of this realm; and that, by the goodness and providence of Almighty God, he is of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the most potent, mighty, and undoubted King; and thereunto we do most humbly and faithfully submit and oblige ourselves, our heirs and posterity⁵ for ever.'

¹ [Copied by Clarendon's amanuensis.]

² [*Lords' and Commons' Journals*; 'hath,' MS.]

³ ['wherein,' *Lords' and Commons' Journals*.]

⁴ [The words in brackets are added from the *Journals*.]

⁵ ['posterities,' *Journals*.]

1660 223. From the time that the King came to Breda, very few days passed without some express from London, upon the observations of his friends, and the applications made to them by many who had been very active against the King, and were now as solicitous that his majesty should know that they wholly dedicated themselves to his service. Before the general had declared himself, or the Parliament was assembled, some who had sat judges upon his father sent many excuses that they were forced to it, and offered to perform signal services if they might obtain their pardon. But his majesty would admit no address from them, nor hearken to any proposition made on their behalf.

224. There was one instance that perplexed him; which was the case of colonel Ingoldsby¹, who was in the number of the late King's judges, and whose name was in the warrant for his murder; who from the deposal of Richard had declared that he would serve the King, and told Mr. Mordant that he would perform all the services he could without making any condition², but would be well content that his majesty when he came home should take his head if he thought fit; only he desired that he might know the truth of his case; which was this:—

225. He was a gentleman of a good extraction, and near allied to Cromwell, who had drawn him into the army before or about the time when he came first to age, where he grew to be a colonel of horse, and to have the reputation of great courage against the enemy, and of equal civility to all men. It is very true he was named amongst those who were appointed to be judges of the King; and it is as true that he was never once present with them, always abhorring the action in his heart, and having no other passion in any part of the quarrel but his personal kindness to Cromwell. The next day after the horrid sentence was pronounced, he had occasion to speak with an officer, who, he was told, was in the Painted Chamber; where, when he came thither, he saw Cromwell, and the rest of those who had sat upon the King, and were then, as he found after-

¹ ['Inglesby,' MS., in this one place.]

² [See Carte's *Original Letters*, ii. 333.]

wards, assembled to sign the warrant for his majesty's death. 1660
As soon as Cromwell's eyes were upon him, he ran to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the table; and said, though he had escaped him all the while, he should now sign that paper as well as they; which he, seeing what it was, refused with great passion, saying he knew nothing of the business, and offered to go away. But Cromwell and others held him by violence; and Cromwell, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingol[d]sby*, he making all the resistance he could: and he said, if his name there were compared with what he had ever writ himself, it could never be looked upon as his own hand.

226. Though his majesty had within himself compassion for him, he would never send him any assurance of his pardon; presuming that if all the allegations were true, there would be a season when a distinction would be made, without his majesty's declaring himself, between him and those other of those classes, which he resolved never to pardon. Nor was he [Ingoldsby] at all disheartened with [this¹,] but pursued his former resolutions, and first surprised the castle of Windsor, 1659
where there was a great magazine of arms and ammunition, Dec. 27.
and put out that governor whom the rump had put in, and afterwards took Lambert prisoner, as is before remembered. § 149.

227. Whilst the fleet was preparing, admiral Mountague sent his cousin Edward Mountague to the King, to let him know that as soon as it should be ready, which he hoped might be within so many days, he would be himself on board, and would then be ready to receive and obey his majesty's orders. This was before the Parliament assembled. He sent word what officers he was confident of, and of whom he was not assured, and who he concluded would not concur with him, and who must be reduced by force. He desired to know whether the King had any assurance of the general, who, however, he wished might know nothing of his resolutions. And it was no small inconvenience to his majesty that he was restrained from com-

¹ ['the obligation,' MS.]

1660 municating to either the confidence he had in the other, which might have facilitated both their designs. But the mutual jealousies between them, and indeed of all men, would not permit that liberty to his majesty.

228. The frequent resort of persons to Bruxells before they knew of the King's being gone to Breda, and their communication of the good news they brought to his majesty's servants and the other English who remained there, and who published what they wished as come to pass as well as what they heard, made the Spanish ministers begin to think that the King's affairs were not altogether so hopeless as they imagined them to be, and that there was more in the King's remove to Breda than at first appeared. And they had every day expected to hear that the States had sent to forbid his majesty to remain in their dominions, as they used to do when his presence had been less notorious. But when they could hear of no such thing, but of great resort thither to the King, and that he had stayed
 May 14, longer there than he had seemed to intend to do, the marquis
 N.S. Caracena sent a person of prime quality¹ to Breda, to invite his majesty to return to Bruxells; the rather, because he had received some very hopeful propositions from England, to which he was not willing to make any answer without receiving his majesty's approbation and command.

229. The King sent him word, that he was obliged with reference to his business in England to stay where he was, and that he was not without hope that his affairs might succeed so well that he should not be necessitated to return to Bruxells at all. Which answer the marquis no sooner received, than he
 May 18, returned the same messenger with a kind of expostulation for
 N.S. the indignity that would be offered to his Catholic majesty if he should leave his dominions in such a manner, and therefore besought him either to return himself thither, or that the duke of York and the duke of Gloster, or at least one of them,

¹ [marq. de Monroy. He arrived at Breda on May 14. The dates of some of the subsequent occurrences during the King's stay in Holland are taken, with the substitution of old for new style, from Sir W. Lower's *Relation of the voyage of Charles II*, fol. Hague, 1660.]

might come to Bruxells, that the world might not believe that 1660 his majesty was offended with the Catholic King, who had treated him so well¹. When he found that he was to receive no satisfaction in either of those particulars, though the King and both the dukes made their excuses with all possible acknowledgment of the favours they had received from his Catholic majesty, and of the civilities shewed to them by the marquis himself, he revenged himself upon don Alonso with a million of reproaches for his stupidity, and ignorance in the affairs of England, and of every thing relating thereunto, after having resided sixteen years ambassador in that kingdom.

230. Cardinal Mazaryne had better intelligence from the French ambassador in London; who gave him diligent accounts of every day's alteration, and of the general imagination that general Munke had other intentions than he yet discovered. And when he heard that the King was removed from Bruxells to Breda, he presently persuaded the Queen mother of England to send the lord Jermin (whom the King had lately, upon his mother's desire, created earl of St. Alban's) to invite the King April 27. to come into France, and to make that treaty which probably would be between the ensuing Parliament and his majesty, in that kingdom; which might prove of great use and advantage to her majesty's interest and honour, and in which the power of the cardinal might be of great importance, in diverting or allaying any insolent demands which might be made. And the cardinal made the same invitation by him, with professions of wonderful kindness, and that the [most] Christian King was infinitely desirous to perform all those offices and respects to his majesty which he had always desired, but was never able to accomplish till now; with this addition, that if his majesty found that the expedition of his affairs would not permit him to come to Paris, order and preparations should be made for his reception at Calice, or any other place he would appoint, where the Queen his mother would attend him; with all other expressions of the highest esteem, which the sagacity of that great minister was plentifully supplied with.

¹ [He invited Ormonde by letter of May 1st. Carte MS. ccxiv, f. 200.]

1660. 231. The earl of St. Alban's found the King in too good a posture of hope and expectation to be much importuned upon the instances he brought, and was contented to return with the King's acknowledgment, and excuse that he could not decently pass through Flanders after he had refused to return to Bruxells; and without going through those provinces it was not possible for him to make a journey into France. In the mean time it was no small pleasure to his majesty to find himself so solemnly invited by two great Kings to enter in[to] their dominions; out of one of which he had been rejected with so many disobligations and indignities, and with so much caution and apprehension suffered to pass through the other, that he might not reside a day there, or spend more time than was absolutely necessary for his journey.

232. Persons now came to Breda, not, as heretofore to Cullen and to Bruxells, under disguises and in fear to be discovered, but with bare faces, and the pride and vanity to be taken notice of, to present their duty to the King; some being employed to procure pardons for those who thought themselves in danger, and to stand in need of them; others brought good presents in English gold to the King, that their names, and the names of their friends who sent them, might be remembered amongst the first of those who made the first demonstrations of their affections that way to his majesty, by supplying his necessities; which had been discontinued for many years, to a degree that cannot be believed, and ought not to be remembered. And by these supplies his majesty was enabled, besides the payment of his other debts, not only to pay all his servants the arrears of their board-wages, but to give them all some testimony of his bounty, to raise their spirits after so many years of patient waiting for deliverance: and all this before the delivery of the King's letter by the general to the Parliament.

233. The King had not been many days in Breda before the States General sent deputies of their own body¹ to congratulate his majesty's arrival in their dominions, and to acknowledge

¹ [They were commissioned by the States on May 1st, 1st, and arrived at Breda on May 1st.]

the great honour he had vouchsafed to do them. And shortly 1660 after, other deputies came from the States of Holland, beseeching his majesty that he would grace that province with his kingly presence at the Hague, where preparations should be made for his reception, in such a manner as should testify the great joy of their hearts for the blessings which the divine Providence was pouring upon his head. And his majesty accepting their invitation, they returned in order to make his journey thither, and his entertainment there, equal to their professions.

234. In the mean time Breda swarmed with English, a multitude repairing thither from all other places as well as London, with presents, and protestations how much they had longed and prayed for this blessed change, and magnifying their sufferings under the late tyrannical government, when many of them had been zealous ministers and promoters of it. The magistrates of the town took all imaginable care to express their devotion to the King, by using all civilities towards, and taking care for the accommodation of, the multitude of his subjects who resorted thither to express their duty to him. So that no man would have imagined, by the treatment he now received, that he had been so lately forbid to come into that place; which indeed had not proceeded from the disaffection of the inhabitants of that good town, who had always passion for his prosperity, and even then publicly detested the rudeness of their superiors, whom they were bound to obey.

235. All things being in readiness, and the States having sent their yachts¹ and other vessel[s] for the accommodation of his majesty and his train, as near to Breda as the river would permit, the King, with his royal sister and brothers, left that place upon [Friday] the [fourteenth] day of May², and within May 14, an hour embarked themselves on board the yachts¹, which O.S. carried them to Rot[t]erdam; Dort, and the other places near which they passed, making all those expressions of joy, by the conflux of the people to the banks of the river and all other

¹ ['yuaghta,' MS.]

² [Blanks are left in the MS. for the words within brackets.]

1660 ways, which the situation of those places would suffer. At Rot[t]erdam they entered into their coaches; from whence to the Hague (at least five English miles) they seemed to pass through one continued street, by the wonderful and orderly appearance of the people on both sides, with such acclamations of joy as if themselves were now restored to peace and security.

May 15,
O.S.

236. The entrance into the Hague, and the reception there, and the conducting his majesty to the house provided for his reception, was very magnificent, and in all respects answerable to the pomp, wealth, and greatness of that State. And the treatment of his majesty, and all who had relation to his service, at the State's charge, during the time of his abode there, which continued many days, was incredibly splendid and noble; and the universal joy so visible and real, that it could only be exceeded by that of his own subjects. The States General in a body, and the States of Holland in a body, performed their compliments with all solemnity; and then the several persons, according to their faculties, made their professions; and a set number of them was appointed always to wait in the Court, to receive his majesty's commands. [All the ambassadors and public ministers of kings, princes, and states, repaired to his majesty, and professed the joy of their masters on his majesty's behalf: so that a man would have thought that this revolution had been brought to pass by the general combination and activity of Christendom, that appeared now to take so much pleasure in it.]

237. The King had been very few days at the Hague when he heard that the English fleet was in sight of Shivelin, [Scheveling]¹ and shortly after, an officer from admiral Mountague was sent to the King, to present his duty to him, and to the duke of York, their high admiral, to receive his orders. As soon as Mountague came on board the fleet in the Downs, and found those officers more frank in declaring their duty to the King, and resolution to serve him, than he expected, that he might not seem to be sent by the Parliament to his majesty but to be carried by his own affection and duty, without expecting any

¹ [It arrived on the coast of Holland on May 14.]

command from them, the wind coming fair, he set up his sails, 1660 and stood for the coast of Holland, leaving only two or three of the lesser ships to receive their orders, and to bring over those persons who, he knew, were designed to wait upon his majesty; which expedition was never forgiven him by some men, who took all occasions afterwards to revenge themselves upon him.

238. The duke of York went the next day on board the fleet, May 21, to take possession of his command; where he was received by O.S. all the officers and seamen with all possible duty and submission, and with those exclamations which are peculiar to that people, and in which they excel. After he had spent the day there, in receiving information of the state of the fleet, and a catalogue of the names of the several ships, his highness returned with it that night to the King, that his majesty might make alterations, and new christen those ships which too much preserved the memory of their late governors and of the republic.

239. Shortly after, the committee of Lords [and Commons] May 14, arrived at the Hague, where the States took care for their decent O.S. accommodation. And the next day they desired admission to May 16, his majesty, who immediately received them very graciously. O.S. From the House of Peers were deputed six of their body, and, according to custom, twelve from the Commons. The peers were, the earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Middlesex; the lords, the viscount Hereford, the lord Berkely of Berkely Castle, and the lord Brooke. From the Commons were sent, the lord Fayrefax, the lord Bruce, the lord Falkeland, the lord Castleton, the lord Harbert, the lord Mandevil, Denzil Hollis, sir Horatio Townesend, sir Anthony Ashly Cooper, sir George Booth, sir John Holland, and sir Henry Cholmely. These persons presented the humble invitation and supplication of the Parliament, that his majesty would be pleased to return, and take the government of the kingdom into his hands, where he should find all possible affection, duty, and obedience from all his subjects; and lest his return, so much longed for, might be retarded by the want of money to discharge those debts which he could not but have contracted, they presented from the Parliament the

1660 sum of fifty thousand pounds to his majesty¹; having likewise order to pay the sum of ten thousand pounds to the duke of York and five thousand to the duke of Gloster²; which was a very good supply to their several necessities. And the King treated all the committee very graciously together, and every one of them severally and particularly very obligingly. So that some of them, who were [conscious]³ to themselves of their former demerit, were very glad to find that they were not to fear any bitterness from so princely and so generous a nature.

240. The city of London had too great a hand in driving the King from thence not to appear equally zealous for his return thither. And therefore they did at the same time send fourteen of their most substantial citizens to assure his majesty of their fidelity and most cheerful submission, and that they placed all their felicity and hope of future prosperity in the assurance of his majesty's grace and protection, for the meriting whereof their lives and fortunes should be always at his majesty's disposal; and they presented to him from the city the sum of ten thousand pounds. The King told them he had always had a particular affection for the city of London, the place of his birth, and was very glad that they had now so good a part in his restoration, of which he was informed, and how much he was beholding to every one of them; for which he thanked them very graciously, and knighted them all; an honour no man in the city had received in near twenty years, and with which they were much delighted.

241. It will hardly be believed that this money presented to the King by the Parliament and the city, and charged by bills of exchange upon the richest merchants in Amsterdam, who had vast estates, could not be received in many days, though some of the principal citizens of London who came to the King went themselves to solicit it, and had credit enough themselves for much greater sums if they had brought over no bills of exchange. But this was not the first time (and of which somewhat hath been said before⁴) that it was evident to the King, that it is

¹ [Voted May 1.]

² ['conscience,' MS.]

³ [Voted May 10, 11.]

⁴ [book XII. § 48.]

not easy in that most opulent city, with the help of all the rich 1660 towns adjacent and upon the greatest credit, to draw together a great sum of ready money; the custom of that country, which flourishes so much in trade, being to make their payments in paper by assignations, and having very rarely occasion for a great sum in any one particular place. And so at this time his majesty was compelled, that he might not defer the voyage he so impatiently longed to make, to take bills of exchange from Amsterdam upon their correspondents in London, for above thirty thousand pounds of the money that was assigned; all which was paid in London as soon as demanded.

242. With these committees from the Parliament and from the city there came a company of clergymen, to the number of eight or ten, who would not be looked upon as chaplains to the rest, but, being the popular preachers of the city, (Raynolds, Calamy, Case, Manton, and others,) were the most eminent of the Presbyterians, and desired to be thought to represent that party. They desired to be admitted all together to have a formal audience from his majesty, where they were tedious enough in presenting their duties, and magnifying the affections of themselves and their friends, who, they said, had always, according to the obligation of their Covenant, wished his majesty very well, and had lately, upon the opportunity that God had put into their hands, informed the people of their duty; which they presumed his majesty had heard had proved effectual, and been of great use to him. They thanked God for his constancy to the Protestant religion, and professed that they were no enemies to moderate episcopacy, only desired that such things might not be pressed upon them in God's worship which in their judgment who used them were acknowledged to be matters indifferent, and by others were held unlawful.

243. The King spake very kindly to them, and said he had heard of their good behaviour towards him, and that he had no purpose to impose hard conditions upon them with reference to their conscience; they well knew that he had referred the settling all differences of that nature to the wisdom of the Parliament, which best knew what indulgence and toleration was

1660 necessary for the peace and quiet of the kingdom. But his majesty could not be so rid of them ; but they desired several private audiences of him, which he never denied ; wherein they told him, that the Book of Common Prayer had been long discontinued in England, and the people having been disused to it, and many of them having never heard it in their lives, it would be much wondered at, if his majesty should, at his first landing in the kingdom, revive the use of it in his own chapel, whither all persons would resort ; and therefore they besought him that he would not use it so entirely and formally, and have some parts only of it read, with mixture of other good prayers which his chaplains might use.

244. The King told them with some warmth, that, whilst he gave them liberty, he would not have his own taken from him ; that he had always used that form of service, which he thought the best in the world, and would not discontinue it, in places where it was more disliked than he hoped it was by them ; that when he came into England, he would not much inquire how it was used in other churches, though he doubted not he should find it used in many, but he was sure he would have no other used in his own chapel. Then they besought him with more importunity, that the use of the surplice might be discontinued by his chaplains, because the sight of it would give great offence and scandal to the people. They found the King as inexorable in that point as in the other ; and [he] told them plainly, that he would not be restrained himself when he gave others so much liberty ; that it had been always held a decent habit in the Church, constantly practised in England till these late ill times ; that it had been still retained by him ; and though he was bound for the present to tolerate much disorder and undecency in the exercise of God's worship, he would never in the least degree discountenance the good old order of the Church in which he had been bred by his own practice. Though they were very much unsatisfied with him, whom they thought to have found more flexible, yet they ceased further troubling him, in hope and presumption that they should find their importunity in England more effectual.

245. After eight or ten days spent at the Hague in triumphs 1680 and festivals, which could not have been more splendid if all the monarchs of Europe had met there, and which were concluded with several rich presents made to his majesty, the King took his leave of the States with all the professions of amity their civilities deserved, and embarked himself on the *Prince*, which had before been called the *Protector*¹, but had been new christened the day before, as many other had been, in the presence and by the order of his royal highness the admiral. And upon the 24th day of May the fleet set sail, and, in one continued thunder of the cannon, arrived so early on the 26th near Dover that his majesty disembarked, and being received by the general at the brink of the sea, he presently took coach, and came that night to Canterbury, where he stayed the next day, being Sunday, and went to his devotions to the cathedral, which was very much dilapidated and out of repair; yet the people seemed glad to hear the Common Prayer again. Thither came very many of the nobility and other persons of quality to present themselves to the King; and there his majesty assembled his Council and swore the general of the Council, and Mr. Morrice, whom he there knighted, and gave him the signet, and swore him Secretary of State. That day he gave the Garter to the general, and likewise to the marquis of Hartford and the earl of Southampton, (who had been elected many years before,) and sent it likewise by Garter herald and king-at-arms to admiral Mountague, who remained in the Downs.

Tuesday,
May 22,
O.S.

Wedn.
May 23.²
Friday,
May 25.²

Saturd.
May 26.
1650
Jan.

246. On Monday [he went to Rochester, and the next day, May 28. being the 29th of May and his birthday, he entered London, all the ways from Dover thither being so full of people and exclamations as if the whole kingdom had been gathered. About or above Greenwich the Lord Mayor and aldermen met him, with all those protestations of joy which can hardly be imagined; and the concourse so great that the King rode in a crowd from the bridge to Temple Bar. All the companies of the city stood in

¹ [He embarked in the *Royal Charles*, which had formerly been called the *Naseby*. *Merc. Publ.*, No. 22, p. 342; Lower, p. 86.]

² [Clarendon postdates the embarkation and arrival by one day.]

1660 order on both sides, giving loud thanks for his majesty's presence. And he no sooner came to Whitehall but the two Houses of Parliament solemnly cast themselves at his feet, with all the vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end. In a word, the joy was so unexpressible and so universal, that his majesty said smilingly to some about him, that he doubted it had been his own fault that he had been absent so long, for he saw nobody that did not protest he had ever wished for his return.

247. In this wonderful manner, and with this miraculous expedition, did God put an end in one month (for it was the first of May that the King's letter was delivered to the Parliament, and his majesty was at Whitehall upon the 29th of the same month) to a rebellion that had raged near twenty years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of parricide, murder, and devastation, that fire and the sword, in the hands of the wickedest men in the world, could be ministers of, almost to the desolation of two kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming the third. Yet did the merciful hand of God in one month bind up all these wounds, and even made the scars as undiscernible as in respect of their deepness was possible. And if there wanted more glorious monuments of this deliverance, posterity would know the time of it by the death of the two great favourites of the two Crowns, cardinal Mazaryne and don Lewis de Haro, who both died within three or four months¹, with the wonder, if not the agony, of this undreamed of prosperity, and as if they had taken it ill that God Almighty would bring such a work to pass in Europe without their concurrence and against all their machinations.]

'Mountpelier, 1 Aug. 1670.'

¹ [Mazarin died March 9, 1661, and de Haro Nov. 7, 1662.]

TABLE OF READINGS
CORRECTED IN THIS EDITION FROM THE MS.,
COMPARED WITH THE READINGS OF THE
EDITION OF 1849.

TABLE OF CORRECTED READINGS.

Edit. 1849.

- I. 6. that in the fourth year (after the
dissolution of [the] two former)
these unseasonable . . . dissolu-
tions

10. naturally to follow

11. little beholden

13, 14.

17, 18.

22. these two points

24. inadvertisements, [and] that

30. he said no more

34. forgot not

40. such counsels

48. given by him

49. ripped up

50. unusual as unheard of

52, 53.

62. respect of the exercise

65. it was [as] so many marriages in
[the] highest passion

66. without any reply

67. all they could

and the other told him

71. or whence it will

[as much] above other men
and the tone

75. trustman

85. cheerful contribution

89. live a short time

Present Edit.

in the fourth year that (after the
dissolution of two former)
this unseasonable . . . dissolution

naturally [inclined] to follow

little beholding

Differently divided.

Differently divided.

those two points

inadvertisements; that

he says no more

forgot not

such councils

[were] given by him

[were] ripped up

unusual and unheard of

*Differently divided, the former
edition continuing § 52 where a
sentence ended, and ending it
where there should only have been
a comma.*

*Words are supplied at the com-
mencement of § 52 to complete the
sentence.*

respect to the exercise

it was so many marriages in highest
passion

[and] without any reply

all he could

the other told him

and whence it will

above other men

and the tune.

truckman

cheerful sure contributions

live [but] a short time

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

98. but yet it was so happily tempered that his courtesy so transcendent reconciled to all men
112. Mr. Fern
119. could have a man
133. human learning
139. heir of Cope
145. Dr. Laud
147. at the break
- 147, 148.
154. next delinquents
162. in the royal diadem
163. exemplary piety
worn a black gown
miserable adjuncts
note, sub-sect. 4. general Ruther
170. than confess
- 173, 174.
174. thwarteous humour
appear to have [a] hand
182. archbishop of Saint Andrew's
196. connivance or favour
198. between the ministers
202. amongst the bishops
203. [make] accusation
206. next the archbishop's
211. his resolutions
- II. 8. which seemed rather
8, 9.
14. by driving the rudest
their devotions
15. that with difficulty
18. pursued their business
21. opposition [to] them
by inflicting
24. exemplary fidelity
33. 34.
36. [and] they two
39. [and] by the testimony
46. after [the] first messenger's
- [yet] it was so happily tempered and his courtesy so transcendent reconciled [him] to all men
- Mr. Tern
- could have [had] a man
- humane learning
- heir of [Sir Walter] Cope
- bishop Laud
- at the breach
- Differently divided, § 147 in the former edit. uniting the last words of one sentence to the beginning of the next.*
- next delinquent
- in the most royal diadem
- exemplar piety
- worn black gown
- unsociable adjuncts
- general Ruthen
- [rather] than confess
- Differently divided.*
- thwartover humour
- appear to have the hand
- archbishopric of St. Andrew's
- connivance of favour
- between the minister
- among the bishops
- make the accusation
- next the archbishop
- his resolution
- seemed rather
- Differently divided, § 8 in the former edition ending in the middle of a sentence.*
- by driving out the rudest
- their devotion
- that with great difficulty
- pursued the business
- opposition of them
- by taking
- exemplar fidelity
- Differently divided.*
- and they two
- by the testimony
- after his first messenger's

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

- | | |
|---|--|
| 50. if not [in] the parliament | if not the parliament |
| 52. was denied | [it] was denied |
| 65. | <i>The last sentence omitted, as mentioned in the note.</i> |
| 67. and that time | and [because] that time |
| 77. dispassionate men | dispassioned men |
| 81. Beedon forest | Needwood forest |
| 82. levies of horse and foot [there] | levies of horse and foot here |
| 83. and indeed [he had]
which used to be | and [who had] indeed
which use to be |
| 101. and after[wards] was | and after was |
| 104. to secure [himself by] withdraw-
ing | to secure by withdrawing |
| 105. run any fortune | run my fortune |
| 107. who the king said | who he said |
| 115, 116. | <i>Differently divided.</i> |
| III. 1. [not] many members | many members. [<i>The not inserted in consequence of a misunderstanding of the sentence. Clarendon apparently puts commas alike after the words 'writs' and 'absent'</i> ¹ . |
| 8. from the whole [house] | from the whole |
| 9. from [the] council | from Council |
| 11. desired [that] he might | desired he might |
| 14. sharp conclusions [were made] | sharp conclusions |
| 20. they [having] designed | and they had designed |
| 22, 23. | <i>Differently divided.</i> |
| 26. who were not [discontented] | who were not |
| 27. Yet [it] | [it] |
| 36. This was the present temper and constitution of both houses of parliament upon their first coming together, when | This temper and constitution of both Houses of Parliament was very different from the last, and upon their first coming together, |
| 40. and [was] to be | and [who was] to be |
| 42. The Scotch commissioners were in this time come to London, where they were magnificently entertained, and one of the best houses in the heart of the city assigned for their reception, and the neighbour church for their devotion, whither so great a | <i>Omitted, as mentioned in note.</i> |

¹ Possibly there should not be a full stop in the text at 'writs,' but a comma here, and a semi-colon at 'absent.'

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

herd flocked on Sundays to hear Mr. Henderson and his fellow-chaplains that very many came to and sat in the church from the time that it was light, that they might receive the comfort of those lectures, which were not till the afternoon; for in the morning their devotions were private

47. those persons whence
 65. presses at liberty
 which, [being] neglected
 66. excess of [their] ecclesiastical
 75. at their election
 78. themselves to [do]
 the act [for granting them] for life
 80. was grounded
 monarchical principles
 85. hoping that
 90. they agreed to pair
 92. which was best
 103. a sectary
 104. that right after[wards]
 113. kindness to him[self]
 to come [to] England
 122. somewhat unskilfully
 130. to be received
 131. the beginning
 133. and a *t* over
 136. to which his majesty
 153. which were like
 155. who presented it
 157. the commitment of [the bill for
 taking away] the court of York
 158. emergent occasions
 161. would not consent
 166. would ever have
 169. had been induced
 [so] the officers
 171-184.
 172. [pragmatical]
 [your] majesty
 the peers

those persons from whence
 presses [were] at liberty
 which, neglected
 excess of ecclesiastical
 For at their election
 themselves to make
 the Act for life
 were grounded
 monarchic principles
 hoping [that]
 they agreed to sever
 which is best
 [a] sectary
 that right after
 kindness to him
 to come for England
 some unskilfully
 [to] be received
 this beginning
 and a *t* over it
 to the which his majesty
 which are like
 [to deliver] who presented it
 the commitment of the Court of
 York
 immergent occasions
 would not consent [to do]
 would have ever
 having been induced
 the officers
*Numbering of sections altered, 182-
 184 having been omitted in the
 numbering in the last edition.*
 practical
 his majesty
 [the] peers

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

173. your wisdom
 180. suspected to be crazy
 183. upon the discovery
 191. any of the other
 195. forejudge their counsels
 204. at that time in any
 208. an universal
 215. successive king
 his life
 218. and [the] disadvantage
 220, 221.

221. some pleased themselves
 225. as appeared
 227. could recriminate upon
 be [freed] from
 230. added nothing [to]
 232. peers and [the] king
 to [a] former resolution
 243. consented to disband [it]
 245. lords lieutenants
 such in [their] room
 254. to lay the scene
 256. [it] had an equal
 260. it made a progress
 261. passionate insinuations

IV. 2. [as] to be taken

6. So [when] they assumed
 competent considerers
 7. From the liberty
 9. in those churches [where he had
 jurisdiction]
 and so avoided [coming there]
 12. any offers [of discovery]
 13. escaped commitment
 14. exceedingly obliged
 15. Some very

19. [had] spent his time
 22. concerned [at] it
 29. fewer English [there]
 30. to be consulted [upon]
 36. in a diameter
 38. masters of requests
 where the[ir] policy

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- your wisdoms
 suspected to be crazed
 upon discovery
 any of the others
 prejudge their counsels
 at that time in either
 a universal
 successive king[s]
 their lives
 and disadvantage
*Differently divided, 220 formerly
 ending in the middle of a sentence.*
 some pleasing themselves
 as appears
 could recriminate
 be freed from
 added nothing
 Peers and King
 to former resolution
 consented to disband
 lord lieutenants
 such in the room
 to lay the scheme
 had an equal
 [it] made a progress
 passionate insinuations
 to be taken
 So they assumed
 competent considerers
 From this liberty
 in those churches
 and so avoided
 any offers
 escaped commitment
 exceedingly obliged by her
 And some very
*Two lines omitted, as mentioned in
 note.*
 spent his time
 concerned in it
 fewer English
 to be consulted upon
 in diameter
 Master of Requests
 where the policy

R

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

40. [that such men] who knew	who knew
[that they] who might well know	who might well know
43. in opposition [to]	in opposition
[were] qualified	qualified
[were] adjudged	adjudged
48. [than] the having received	as the having received
50. as [could] possibly be done	as can possibly be done
55. [from] the offering	by the offering
58. encouraging [men]	encouraging men
59. and to continue	and to contrive
67. then unmentioned	unmentioned
68. that they [had] abolished	that they abolished
72.	<i>The words of this island transposed.</i>
assisted [by] some	assisted with some
74. begin to execute them	begin to execute
[by which] these men	these men
75. [and] thereby	and thereby
80. [and] for the removing	for the removing
82. against whom there [could] be	against whom there can be
85. no impression [on] them	no impression in them
87. some apprehensions	some apprehension
by reason [that] those	by reason those
still, by the resistance	till, by the resistance
96. amusing most men	amazing most men
97. committee; said	committee and said
103. degree of power [to some men]	degree of power
111. liked well the visitations	liked well the visitation
114. the lords again sent	the Lords again send
115. justices of [the] peace	justices of peace
116. justices [were] convened	justices convened
126. preferment [that] could be conferred	preferment they could confer
of what [had] passed	of what passed
128. conceived to be difficult	conceives to be difficult
128. 129.	<i>Differently divided.</i>
129. [who] had been	which had been
134. but [as has been before mentioned]	but he defended
he defended	
135. 142. the house [of peers]	the House
136. his own consent to [them]	his own consent to it
140. indubitable right	indubitate right
144. it was lawful [in the house of peers]	it was lawful
145. to be severed	so be severed
on their behalf	on their behalfs
146. [and] attended the houses	attended the Houses

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

147. *note*, aversion from
 148. 154, 173, 218. the lord [Kimbolton]
 149. so hardy to press
 152, 153, 154, 155.
 158. was looked upon
 160. if any thing
 167. [had made] the lord Falkland
 and was dispersed
 168. as [well as] the propagation
 169. that that case
 [not] discountenanced
 scandalized
 184. their [own] privileges
 187, 188.
 188. ought [to] attend
 192. [Mr.] Strode
 198. The trained-bands
 205. that there [were]
 209. raised to them[selves]
 211. assured both houses
 215. as [were] necessary
 220. such [as] had adhered
 237, 238.
 239. dispassionate answer
 242. as of his [own] life
 246. disturbing [the peace] thereof
 247. in the other [house]
 250. might [pro]claim
 255. [and] had with notable courage
 266. grown insupportable
 shall be forced
 277. none was in case
 305. [or] the single power
 would [never] have consented
 322. to the king [at] Theobalds
 330. emergent occasion
 332. [on] his majesty
 341. [and] they said
 344. to answer [them] particularly
 350. present exigence
 350, 351.
 V. 2. [was] of so strange
 14. the removal [of them]
 matter [for] an answer
 32. and [for] choosing
 33. and ready to embark

- aversion to
 the lord Mandevill
 so hardy [as] to press
Differently divided.
 [and] was looked upon
 if any things
 called the lord Falkland
 and [which] was dispersed
 [or] the propagation
 that that ease
 discountenanced
 scandaled
 their privileges
Differently divided.
 ought attend
 Strowde
 [As for] the train-bands
 that there was
 raised to them
 assures both Houses
 as was necessary
 such who had adhered
Differently divided.
 dispassioned answer
 as of his life
 disturbing thereof
 in the other
 might proclaim
 had with notable courage
 grown unsupportable
 shall be enforced
 [and] none was in case
 on the single power
 would never have consented
 to the King, to Theobalds
 immergent occasion
 in his majesty
 that, they said
 to answer particularly
 present exigents
Differently divided.
 were of so strange
 the removal
 matter of an answer
 and choosing
 and [be] ready to embark

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>37. abilities, in whom
 48. breach and privilege
 the prosecution was [carried on]
 50. exemplar[y]
 51. declared this parliament
 52. alteration and innovation
 53. in the magazine
 56. defence of [the] true
 63. in [a] short time
 an unanimous
 74. at their peril [be it]
 83. resolved [on] his journey
 89. magazine there (which the houses
 had ordered to be speedily sent
 to London)
 92, 93.
 97. gracious message
 was not thought
 all private interest
 he had not
 99. to [his] knowledge
 100. were [not] only
 102. apprentices
 104. The case, he said
 119. the exception[s] to that bill?
 that [were] to the ordinance
 122. presses swarmed [with]
 126. out of tenderness
 necessary [that] the business
 132. when they [were] called
 147. of [their] care of his safety
 148. 2 Rich. II.
 152. this scene
 153. against his parliament
 [they] consent to any
 156. in the one, [filled] with all
 166. there [had been]
 169. cause [of] his majesty's
 Mr. Pollard
 171. charge undiscovered
 171, 172.
 172. These things which were evil
 178. favourers [of] the Irish rebellion
 185. present exigence
 187. declaration [from] the King's
 council</p> | <p>abilities as in whom
 breach of privilege
 the prosecution was
 exemplar
 declared [by] this parliament
 alterations and innovations
 in magazine
 defence of true
 in short time
 a unanimous
 at their peril
 resolved of his journey
 magazine there

 <i>Differently divided.</i>
 gracious messages
 [were] not thought
 all private interests
 he had not [refused]
 to their knowledge
 were only
 prentices
 The cause, he said
 the exception to that bill?
 that was to the ordinance
 presses swarmed
 out of the tenderness
 necessary the business
 when they called
 of the care of his safety
 11 Rich. II.
 this scheme
 against the Parliament
 consent to any
 in the one, with all
 there had been
 cause for his majesty's
 master Pollard
 charge [were] undiscovered
 <i>Differently divided.</i>
 Those things which were evil
 favourers to the Irish rebellion
 present exigents
 declaration of the King's counsel</p> |
|--|--|

Edit. 1849.

188. [such] a guard as they desired
 190. bestowed [here] an admonition
 193. Mr. Goring
 and some other[s]
 204. knotty part[s]
 205. entirely communicate [them]
 206.
 221. which [were] indeed
 225, 226, 227.
 229. *s'avisera*
 230, 231. interests
 233. apply [the] character
 236. [should] ever force
 239. happily
 259. [six] members
 260. such member
 282. interest
 286. Mr. Hooker related
 289. irrecoverably
 [that] queen Elizabeth
 Were they not
 291. their conversion
 310. forbidden him
 315. that a parliament
 whether he discharges
 318. [and] travelled
 escaped
 330. indeed more proper
 on their advices
 332. could have settled
 333. [was] not left
 334. misdemeanour[s]
 335. near
 340. And they all (truly there did not
 appear four counsellors of another
 opinion) declared to the king
 341. they [the] more willingly
 348. [this] nation
 349. [these] eight months
 361. lords might have
 conscience
 364. and so [was] received
 note, § 11, the great
 364, 365.
 365. whatever his opinion [were]
 against [the] commission

Present Edit.

- a guard as they desired it
 bestowed an admonition
 master Goring
 and some other
 knotty part
 entirely communicate
The beginning of the section altered.
 which was indeed
Division of sections altered.
l'avisera
 interesses
 apply that character
 did ever force
 haply
 five members
 such members
 interests
 Mr. Hooker relates
 irrevocably
 that Queen Elizabeth
 Were not they
 their conversions
 bidden him
 that the Parliament
 whether he discharge
 [and] who travelled
 escaped
 more indeed proper
 on the advices
 should have settled
 were not left
 misdemeanour
 nearest
 And there were very few of all the
 great lords who did attend upon
 the King who did [not] declare
 they more willingly
 that nation
 eight months
 Lords might leave
 consciences
 and so received
 so great
Differently divided.
 whatever his opinion
 against that commission

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

- | | |
|--|---|
| 365. argue [against] the ordinance | argue the ordinance |
| 366. 367. | <i>Differently divided.</i> |
| 369. magazine | magazines |
| 377. the only person [fit] | the only person |
| 378. and [that he] himself | and himself |
| 379. expected orders | expecting orders |
| 379. 380. | <i>Differently divided.</i> |
| 380. as they call it | as they called it |
| 382. And [this] his majesty [was] with-
out | and his majesty without |
| done [without] | done without |
| 383. revenues of the king | revenue of the King |
| 385. make the scene | make the scheme |
| 388. the perfect horror | a perfect horror |
| 389. but of parliament | but in Parliament |
| 394. had [too] great reason | had no great reason |
| 411. and fixing | and a fixing |
| 412. [that] their messages | their messages |
| 417. men of the county | men of the country |
| 420. [imminent] danger | eminent danger |
| 425. [and] incapable | incapable |
| Where he hath with notable cour-
age and constancy continued to
this present | where with notable courage and
constancy he continued almost to
his death |
| 429. [a] foreign force | foreign force |
| 430. proceedings of [the] parliament
However [they] concluded | proceedings of Parliament
however, concluded |
| 432. ship escaped | ships scaped |
| hole of the bark | hold of the bark |
| 434. and [he] judged well | and judged well |
| only as a spy | only as spy |
| 436. | <i>Commencement altered as shown in
note.</i> |
| [which he had] so much reason
there [was] every day | so much reason
there were every day |
| 437. message [before mentioned] | message |
| 438. | <i>Commencement altered as shown in
note.</i> |
| 439. [this] came to pass | that came to pass |
| 440. 441. lord Kimbolton
[was] with | lord Mandevill
were with |
| 441. to [that] lord
<i>note 4, pursicants</i> | to the lord
purs[u]ivants |
| 442. This declaration [of the governor]
of a place | This declaration of a place |
| 443. The king was in hopes | the King was in hope |

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

444. that council
 445. There will be no occasion to make
 any mention
 446. so lively an instance

- VI. 3. into consultation
 they could not [legally] draw
 6. about six hundred
 8. had quitted the kingdom
 It was [farther] objected
second note, I. [which] was not yet
 come

- [and] perform
 9. if it [prevailed]
 11. happily
 18. still to interrupt
 23. the other
 24. those orders
 30. and such a victory
 33. a dozen miles
 35. lord Kimbolton
 escaped it
 37. by [the] advice
 40. There [were] more
 42. were the only
 45. Six or seven cornets [of the
 enemy's]
 50. the earl of Rivers
 54. eminent necessity
 57. for their [common] use
 59. a thousand pounds
 60. his lord[ship] treated
 62. gave [his majesty]
 65. depute Mr. Hyde

- the [Roman] catholics
 sent for Mr. Hyde
 [and] who lived
 66. [and] who was looked upon
 of Ercall
 72. of the gentleman
 74. [was] made
 79. *note*, p. 352, at any time
 note, p. 354, whole up and down
 80. a very strong garrison

- that counsel
 there will be occasion to make
 mention (*see note*).
 too lively an instance

- into the consultation
 they could not draw
 above six hundred
 had quit the kingdom
 It was objected
 was not yet come (*the insertion of
 which completely altered the mean-*
 ing).

- and perform
 if it oppressed
 haply
 still [so] to interrupt
 on the other
 these orders
 And [if] such a victory
 a dozen miles off
 lord Maundevill
 scaped it
 by advice
 There was more
 are the only
 Six or seven cornets
 and the earl of Rivers
 imminent necessity
 for their use
 a thousand pound
 his lord treated
 gave him
 depute a person much trusted by
 him
 the Catholics (*a frequent alteration
 in other places*).

- sent for that person
 who lived
 who was looked upon
 of Hiarchall [High Ercall]
 of the gentlemen
 were made
 in any time
 wheel up and down
 a garrison

Edit. 1849.

85. the prince [of Wales]
 87. [with] which the country
 92. mentioned before upon his dis-
 course at Nottingham, which
 was very ominous: [he] was
 93. Bletnezo
 94. Prisoners taken by the enemy
 were
 97. very seasonably
 99. [the] having killed
 or [taken] prisoners
 [at] Woodstock
 101. who were present [at the action]
 the houses had [been]
 102. might be secured
 103. a notable supply [thereby]
 105. more evident strength
 106. principal part
 and in prosecution
 106, 107.
 107. malignant council
 108. be [so] corrupted
 112. in the first [war]
 113-118.
 118. particulars
 conduce [to]
 conducibile [to]
 120. [yet] for their parts
 124. they still
 125. great effects
 126. was well beaten
 from [them]
 note, armies used
 129. petition [was] by them
 134. retreat [made] very difficult
 138. massive body
 142. [and] published—[and] concluded
 143. kind [of] proposition
 145, 146.
 158. loss [of that kind]
 167. Oxford

Present Edit.

- the Prince
 of which the country
 mentioned before, and was
 Bletzo
 Prisoners were taken by the enemy
 very seasonable
 their having killed
 or prisoners
 to Woodstock
 who were present
 the Houses had done
 might be secure
 a notable supply
 more evidence, strength.
 [prelatical] part
 and [that] in prosecution
Differently divided.
 malignant counsel
 be corrupted
 in the first
*Beginnings of sections altered; in
 the series of numbers in the last
 edition 123 having been omitted.*
 particular
 conduce for
 conducive for
 for their parts
 they have still
 great effect
 was beaten
 from them
 armies use
 petition by them
 retreat very difficult
 massy body
 published—concluded
 kind proposition
*Differently divided, the beginning of
 section 145 in the last edit. being
 the conclusion of the quotation in
 the preceding section.*
 loss
 Oxon

Edit. 1849.

168. The [parliament's] army
 171-173.
 176. sometimes [to] prevent
 178. all [those] relations
 179. since his master
 180.
 181-185.
 181 [180]. state here. Not to speak
 184 [183]. [whilst] the bishops
 188. [proportions]
 195. thought [was] so palpable
 thorough consideration
 223. interested
 228. [so] entirely
 229. they only wanted
 233. endeavour of peace
 [and] privileges
 235. people of the county
 238. [Mr.] George
 267. a hundred
 273. [in] that they had done
 276. without a word
 277. [he] being a bishop
 278. courage
 279. accordingly did
 283. [he] took the ordnance
 [some] other men
 284. John Gell
 rites
 dispassionate
 293. contribution[s]
 296. mention [all] the
 301. might be so employed
 304. of that kingdom
 305. not without
 315. [the] committee
 316. if they—that the day
 319. [and] believed that
 324. it is certain
 325. so rigidly
 326.
 a hundred
 333. even [on the blood] of those
 334. compose [it]
 quit[ted]

Present Edit.

- The army
The beginnings of the sections altered.
 sometimes prevent
 all the relations
 sure his master
Transposed to 186.
 180-184.
 State here, not to speak
 that the bishops
 propositions
 thought so palpable
 through consideration
 interested
 so entirely
 they only waited
 endeavour of a peace
 privileges
 people of the country
 George
 one hundred
 that they had done
 without word
 being a bishop
 courages
 accordingly did it
 took the ordnance
 other men
 J. Gell
 rights
 dispassioned
 contribution
 mention any of the
 might be so likewise employed
 for that kingdom
 and not without
 their committee
 that if they—the day
 believed that
 'tis certain
 too rigidly
*The numbers in the text are now
 given in a foot-note.*
 one hundred
 even of those
 compose
 quit

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

336. [the] present	present
339. timously	timeously
341. called	calleth
[a] preparation	preparation
belong, should	belong, shall
343. free from mixture	free of mixture
347. now they have	they have now
349. all our subjects	all [our] good subjects
351.	<i>Date removed from text to foot-note, being added by Clarendon himself as a marginal note.</i>
355. you only esteem	you will only esteem
356. would [not] be more welcome	would be more welcome
366. emergent	immergent
368. need[ed] not ask	need not ask
369. Sir W. Armyne	Sir William Armin
and [also] desired [on their be- half]	and desired
374. desire [to add] the strength	desire the strength
380. than [others] they [had] usually old tried	than they usually old and tried
383.	<i>The end of the section transferred to a foot-note.</i>
386. melancholy	melancholique
395. his [majesty's] own	his own
398.	<i>Commencement of the section altered.</i>
400. the [King's] authority	the authority
401.	<i>Passage in foot-note added. End of section transferred to foot- note.</i>
407. [that] all means	that all means
408.	<i>Commencement of the section altered.</i>
lives of men	life of men
VII. 20. [the two houses] returned	they returned
[some of them] were looked upon	were looked upon
26. his [lordship's] choice	his choice
31. and [there being] hopes	and hope
42. [had] averred	averred
56. that [if] they would	that they would
59. before [that city]	before it
72. cantiousness	cautelousness
77. [who] found	which found
91. great terror	greater terror
92. exemplar[y]	exemplar
98. by an army	by any army
102. pallmall	pell mell

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

106. amazing	amating
quit[ted] their ground	quit their ground
109. in the heads	in the head
amongst [whom]	amongst which
110. number slain	numbers slain
112. over the country	over the county
115. relation	relations
116. [they] waited	waited
118. conjunction	conjuncture
chased	were chased
119. [so] that all clouds	that all clouds
latter	later
121. note, vice-admiral of the Castle	vice-admiral of Castle
122. [the earl, I say] retired	retired
124. [they] seized all the ships	seized all the ships
125. than in others	than in other
129. all gentlemen	all the gentlemen
135. Upon [the] news	Upon news
137. and [their] army	and army
138. have repaired	had repaired
143. as [for] us	as to us
whosoever have	whosoever hath
145. of wonderful	a wonderful
148. understanding[s]	understanding
attended [it]	attended
149. than afterwards	than were afterwards
soldiers [who]	shoulders which
157. <i>The construction and sense of the latter part were entirely perverted by wrong division of sentences.</i>	
158. [what] such a messenger	what such a messenger
161. hearts	heart
174. at a place	a place
[at] Petworth	at Petworth
176. part of it was	part of it that was
180. most desperately	the most desperately
181. reproaches [were] publicly	the reproaches publicly
187 [186]. breaking [of] it	breaking it
what he would	what they would
189 [188]. what was most	what is most
did visit him [again]	did visit him
had [no] great success	had not great success
193. towards the river	towards Topsham the river
195. their own body	their body
200. incumbent [on] him	incumbent to him
202. for the relief	for relief

Edit. 1849.

205. retiring before [him]
raise [the] siege
214. [and] some citizen's
there were [on the other]
216. This day [also]
and [he] had
222. reason[s] of state
223. discerned [in them] a desire
224. was [in truth] so precise
226. that [are] used
- 226, 227.
231. [and] prevented
232. that as he was
233. of the kingdom
234. in the lower
needs not care
235.
and [the] whole House
237. soldierly
241. The three earls [I before men-
tioned]
[and] where the general
242. the [other] lords
244. He [the earl] had a friend
- 246, 247.
247. delayed [it so long]
than as a man
251. and [that] the people
253. amuse the English
- 256, 257.
262. drought
264. all [these] things
265. of [the] persons
when they looked
[had] received
270. and [thus] they should
271. the duke explained
272. by persuading [them]
so there was
274. after he [had] altered
277. [service as]
279. [the] public ministers
281. [by] a greater number
to the secret

Present Edit.

- retiring before them
raise their siege
as some citizen's
there were
This day
and had
reason of state
discerned a desire
was so precise
that is used
Division of the sections altered.
prevented
as he was
the kingdom
on the lower
need not care
An added first line omitted.
and whole House
soldiery
The three earls

where the general
the lords
He had a friend
*Division of sections altered; 246
having been made to end in the
middle of a sentence.*
delayed it
as a man
and the people
amuse them
Division of sections altered.
drowth
all things
of persons
when looked
received
and they should
the duke himself explained
by persuading
so that there were
after he altered
services [as]
public ministers
a greater number
to any secret

Edit. 1849.

282. ushered [in] those promotions
and [were] believed
place committed
290. [were] only intended
291. Micippus
304. perfect obedience
310. nor an enemy
311. the benefit
312. ended, *tum*
319. revered
[he] was powerful
320. who [by his]
322. had been compelled with his
army
had [made] many
323. the[ir] seducers
of both [houses]
- 324.
326. by the chancellor
328. such [as]
league of Scotland
336. out of England
easterly
cheese
supplies
before that we
though shame
to your honour
351. in answer [to]
354. habiliments of war
358. Lemster
365. Mountrose's
- 369.
370. such as could not
393. so it is
394. for [the] providing
400. exemplar[y]
action [for which]—notice [of]
403. apprehension[s]
To give fresh life, &c. : 6 lines
404. less care
[had] made full
412. French ambassador, [which hath
been before mentioned]

Present Edit.

- ushered those promotions
and believed
place [which] is committed
only intended
Nicippus
their perfect obedience
or an enemy
a benefit
ended, and *tum*
reverend
was powerful
[who, his]
- his army had been compelled
- had many
the seducers
of both
- A passage transferred to the foot-note, and omitted lines inserted.*
Transferred to foot-note.
- such who
league with Scotland
forth of England
easterny
cheeses
supply
before we
the shame
for your honour
in answer of
abilliments of war
Leinster
Monroe's
- Order of words in the last three lines transposed.*
- such who could not
so it is
for providing
exemplar
action—notice for
apprehension
Transferred to foot-note.
less ear
made full
French ambassador

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

VIII. 4. be [an] argument

6. before there was
the provision . . . was9. they [had] used
apprentices

10. had provided

12. [that] disposition

20. joined by

57. that peregrination

60. whereupon

62. and marched

66. Baker

68. a hill adjoining

73. joined him
such expedition

74. routed and defeated

75. to each other

79. it was no wonder he lost

83. he was made

90. [had] received

91. not so much care
or be compelled
and impetuous
in his temper

92. there were with him

93. better expressions

94. or words

an ordinary officer

95. in Buckinghamshire

96. he was so indiscreet
their full magnitude

114. which were sent

120. custody of them

121. his majesty had given
Amongst them

130. but it was believed they lost many

132. to those of the king's

133. After this great victory
to look upon Plymouth
on either side

134. my lord Vere

137. that [they] can

138. [by] whose advice

139. with a body

145. marched [eastward]

be argument

before they had

the provisions . . . [were]

they used

prentices

had provided for

the disposition

joined with

that three weeks' peregrination

Words re-inserted as shown in notes.

upon which

and marched out

lieut. col. Baker

a mill adjoining

joined the prince

that expedition

defeated and routed

each to other

that it was no wonder that he lost

for he was made

received

not care

nor be compelled

and an impetuous

in his nature

there were

better expressions [than the officers]

or of words

an orderly officer

at Buckingham

was so indiscreet

the full magnitude

and which were sent

custody of it

he had given

And amongst them

but believed to be many

to the King's

After this victory

that he would look upon Plimoth
of either side

the lord Vere

that can

from whose advice

with the body

marched outward

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

145. The [king's] horse were harassed,
and many [of them] dead

150. and so [he] resolved

151. sent him word

153. [but] instead

157. of Mr. Doleman's garden

159. so he sent

163. in[to] battalia
the [king's] army

164. every trooper [was] to cast
and to make

165. disservice. So much

[This is a somewhat important difference in punctuation. The former edits. make the last line refer to Sir A. Aston, whereas it is only part of what he said about col. Gage.]

168. the [king's] army
[he] had suffered
wit's sake
the ambition of both was

180. by whose advice

182. had [at] first cozened

They bore

troubled [them] more

192. but how to lay them aside [was
the difficulty]

198. the king should send

199. object [against] this

203. The [two] lords

they did [believe] or seemed

204. [This] method was not ingrateful
to the [two] lords

the [two] lords observing
returned

[not] at Oxford

205. no man [was] a greater

[out] of those

206. yet all [reasonable] men

207. commanded [the chancellor of the
exchequer]

208. When [the archbishop's] council

214. [private] animadversion

[at last] they were contented

216. for all the [king's] commissioners
any restrained

220. perusal of this [history]

The horse[s] were harassed, and
many dead

and so resolved

[and] sent him word

and instead

in Mr. Doleman's garden

and so he sent

in battalia
the army

every trooper to cast
and then to make

disservice, so much

the army

had suffered

wit sake

the ambitions of both were

and by whose advice

had first cozened

And they bore

troubled more

The bracketed words are an insertion
that alters the whole meaning of
the sentence.

the King would send

object this

the lords

they did or seemed

This method was not ingrateful to
the lords

the lords observing

they returned

neither at Oxford

no man a greater

of those

yet all men

commanded him

When his counsel

animadversion

they were contented

for all the commissioners

any restraint

perusal of this

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 221. the king himself should take
the [king's] commissioners caused | the King himself would take
the commissioners caused |
| 223. against the demands | against the demand |
| 224. [But] being a young man
speaking a word | and, being a young man
speaking word |
| 225. to their demands
delivered to [the others]
nor [they on the king's side] to
desist | to their demand
delivered to them
nor the others to desist |
| 227. to the uniting | to uniting |
| 228. in the place [of it] | in the place |
| 229. passed [in] debate | passed upon debate |
| 234. all [the] envious | all envious |
| 235. necessary. [This] he did
war against him[self]
security of a cessation | necessary; which he did
war against him
security of the cessation |
| 236. that the war [should] be
which [otherwise] he could not | that the war shall be
which he could not |
| 239. [he] being even | being even |
| 242. heads [of] their treaty | heads for their treaty |
| 243. treaty were broke [off] | treaty were broke |
| 250. [But] being unwilling | and being unwilling |
| 251. reflex
The king's commissioners | reflecting
And the King's commissioners |
| 253. melancholy | melancholique. (<i>This form of spell-
ing for melancholic is used by
Clarendon throughout.</i>) |
| 257. [the] government
had [first] entertained | that government
had entertained |
| 259. making recruit[s] | making recruit |
| 261. [were] not passed | was not passed |
| 263. [had] stirred him up | stirred him up |
| 264. heir[ess] | heir |
| 266. if he would send | if he could send |
| 267. could disquiet
[who would therefore] undervalue | would disquiet
and so he [the marquis] would
undervalue |
| 268. that age knew | that age knew any |
| 269. <i>note</i> , relation [to him]
or [by] the queen | relation
or the Queen |
| 270. dissuade him [from affecting] | dissuade him to affect |
| 274. of the marquis
[and] that he had told | of the marquis of Ormonde
that he had told |
| 275. his [majesty's] service
unconstant nature | his service
inconstant nature |
| 276. [and] considering | considering |

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

276. and the imagination
 278. until the [marquis of] Antrim
 279. being [so] much as present
 if [his majesty] had
 281. government. Besides that, they
 had so
 had invested [that lord]
 marquis of Newcastle and [young
 Hotham]
 282. was so barbarous
 283. could not but appear [in it]
 284. Irish frigates
 285. caused them
- IX. 1. [as well] as of those
 2. preserved [as the infamy]
 discourse [of] all these particulars
 3. and journal[s]
 without [my] being
 4. [yet] the ordinance
 [the house of peers]
 his [own] house
 6. has been named
 [than] had been expected
 and [which if] unmastered
 contest
 7. [so] that those parts
 disorders [there]
 10. [and] that those parts
 [were] an army by [themselves]
 14. attended [in person] or [have]
 presented
 16. shortly after [his highness]
 18. reflected upon him[self]
 injury [done them]
 upon [his highness]
 19. all [other] discontented persons
 strangers to her [before], that they
 took [care]
 21. they received [that] he had
 affected
 22. they had [before] not only
 to settle [the] limits
 24. protecting [Syms] as a great in-
 dignity to [himself]
 25. [rode] to Exeter
 30. his [own] credit

- and [in] the imagination
 until the earl of Antrim
 being as much as present
 if he had
 government, besides that they had
 so
 had invested him
 marquis of Newcastle and him
 were so barbarous
 could not but appear
 Irish frigates at sea
 had caused them
- as of those
 preserved as the infamous charge
 discourse all these particulars
 and journal
 without being
 the Ordinance
 that House
 his house
 have been named
 which had [not] been expected
 and unmastered
 contests
 that those parts
 disorders
 that those parts
 was an army by itself
 attended or presented
 shortly after he
 reflected upon him
 injury
 upon him
 all discontented persons
 strangers to her, that they looked
 they received as if he had affected
 they had not only
 to settle their limits
 protecting him, as a great indignity
 to him
 rid to Exciter
 his credit

Editt. 1849.

Present Edit.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>30. lessen [the] credit and authority
[of the council]</p> <p>33. [were] made a prey</p> <p>35. <i>The section was made to end in
the middle of a sentence, where
only a comma was required.</i></p> <p>39. who had [till then] so much</p> <p>42. [and] was indeed</p> <p>43. necessary for the prince [of Wales]
[with] a good garrison
<i>A full stop after artillery, and
new sentence commenced, dis-
locating the sense of the passage.</i></p> <p>44. [before] Taunton
might [re]present</p> <p>47. relief [of it]
was forced himself to retire</p> <p>48. [and] not expressly</p> <p>49. [it] was more
Mackworth having been</p>
<p>50. But [his highness] told them</p> <p>52. none of [their] reasons</p> <p>53. <i>note</i>, spoken of
commanded me
take up arms
would not be
seeing Sir H. Windham</p> <p>55. [one] particular</p>
<p>57. of [the enemy's] horse
secured [his]
next day he retired
infesting [his] march</p> <p>58. whilst [he] himself</p> <p>59. [as] alienated
bring him in</p> <p>61. [his] command
he [himself] had</p>
<p>62. upon which [he said] he had</p> <p>63. pay [a] penny</p> <p>64. in [the] churches</p> | <p>lessen their credit and authority</p> <p>being made a prey</p>
<p>who had so much
who was indeed
necessary for the Prince
and a good garrison
<i>Comma after artillery, followed by a
parenthesis.</i></p>
<p>at Taunton
might present
relief
was forced to retire
not expressly
was more
Mackworth being
<i>Words transposed at the end of the
section.</i></p> <p>But he told them
none of the reasons
spoke of
commanded
take arms
could not be
being Sir Hugh Windham
a particular
<i>Words transposed in the middle of
the section.</i></p> <p>of horse
secured [ours]
next day retired
infesting their march
whilst himself
that alienated
bring him
that command
he had
<i>Arrangement at end of section
altered.</i></p> <p>upon which he had
pay penny
in Churches</p> |
|---|--|

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>65. what he [himself] would have done
 [it] belonged
 68. importunate that [his majesty]
 69. upon [him to] think</p> <p>70.</p> <p>71. [could] be expected
 72. trust to [in those parts] that accusation
 73. quickly to [his highness]</p> <p>75. from him [Greenvil]
 76. and [he] would raise
 77. [a] very great misfortune and whispered
 the [choice of the] place
 82. dispersed [as hath been said] king and [the] parliament my lords [of the councill] [from being] presented
 83. [one] morning he [had been] deceived the lord Wentworth where it should be if it were not his that [the prince]
 84. he [had] received
 85. his [majesty's] short stay which after that strictness to begin [in]
 86. and had absolutely
 87. The king [now] [his majesty] left upon [that] place
 88. defer [it] Berkley [castle]
 89. [he] sent orders
 90. not only forget
 91. miscarriages [of others]
 92. When the prince [of Wales] [Greenvil] seemed</p> | <p>what he would have done
 and [which] belonged
 importunate that he upon the King to think
 <i>Words added at the end of the section.</i>
 <i>Many differences, as mentioned in a note.</i>
 should be expected
 trust to
 their accusation
 quickly to him
 in the words it contained, <i>added at end of section.</i>
 from him
 and would raise
 their very great misfortune
 had whispered
 the place
 dispersed
 King and Parliament
 my lords
 to be presented
 in a morning
 he was deceived
 my lord Wentworth
 when it should be
 if it should not be his
 that his highness
 he received
 his short stay
 that, after
 that swiftness
 to begin
 and he had absolutely
 The King
 he left
 upon the place
 defer that
 Berkely
 sent orders
 forget not only
 miscarriages
 When the Prince
 he seemed</p> |
|---|--|

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

- | | |
|---|--|
| 92. [very] marvellous license | marvellous license |
| 93. [he was] to receive orders | to receive orders |
| 94. to attend the[ir] rear
to the [lord Wentworth, his] major
general | to attend the rear
to the major general |
| [on the account of] any indisposi-
tion | for any indisposition |
| command to any [person] | command to any |
| 95. sent to [him from the counsellors]
was brought [back] | sent to the King
was brought |
| 99. that [his] army | that the army |
| 100. to a county
they [had] received
incensing the county
[that] he never called | to a country
they received
incensing the country
he never called |
| 101. all the enemy's designs | all his designs
<i>Words transposed at the end of
the section.</i> |
| 102. army with [prince Rupert]
he had always
of his nature
or else to keep | army with him
he hath always
in his nature
or else by the other to keep |
| 103. the pass being | and the pass being |
| 104. revenue of the duchy
to the enemy [in those parts]
written to [the governor]
if they had not [done] | revenue of his duchy
to the enemy
written to him
if they had not been |
| 106. kept [the city] | kept them [the city] |
| 107. to his [the lord Wentworth's]
quarter
which was [a] very hopeful [body]
and all order[s] | to his quarter
which was very hopeful
and all order |
| 109. [about this time] Sir Thomas
Fairfax
and it [hath been] said
from [before] Plymouth
for which the county | Sir Thomas Fayrefax
and it is said
from Plimmoth
for which the country |
| 116. [and] of the inconveniency
they [farther] informed
the continuing [him] still | of the inconveniency
They informed
the continuing still |
| 119. the foot from [before] Chester
unfit for horse to fight [in] | the foot from Chester
unfit for horse to fight upon |
| 120. as [any] those counties are sup-
plied with, [his majesty] went
over | as those counties are supplied with
he went over |
| 121. the breaking of that cloud | the breaking that cloud |

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

121. [he] made haste
 125. marched with those
 126. he had [near] attained
 to his [own] virtue
 128. made [his majesty] resolve
 129. that he [himself] could not
 130. with what had passed [before]
 131. on many considerations
 132. battle of Naseby
 133. wherein he [re]presented
 [but] that he returned
 134. few [who] could do good
 135. and [some] foot
 136. obey him [with]
 137. straggled in the country
 138. possessed of the country
 140. eminently [well] affected
 141. and [was] certified
 143. being drawn up
 5000 foot [to come] from thence
 144. joined with [them]
 hour of [their] dissolving
 147. [The prince] having stayed
 [his] army being then retired
 148. publicly shewed
 to venture [his highness]
 149. sufficiently awakened
 151. they concluded
 152. and [was] committed
 satisfied him in
 153.

- [whereas] the chancellor
 without [having given]
 if he [himself] had
 useful to [his majesty]
 154. might as soon
 155. were [made] to be suspected
 content that [himself]
 157. and [then] intended
 158. friend of the governor
 159. never be [a] treaty
 [re]presenting to him
 160. do more good [for the king]
 so [that] at the surrender

- made haste
 he marched with those
 he had attained
 to his virtue
 made him resolve
 that he could not
 with what had passed
 in many considerations
 battle at Naseby
 wherein he presented
 that he returned
 few could do good
 and foot
 obey him with
 straggled in the country
 possessed of the country
 eminently affected
 was certified
 and being drawn up
 5000 foot from thence
 joined with him
 hour of dissolving
 The Prince having stayed
 the army being then retired
 publicly shewn
 to venture himself
 sufficiently awaked
 they conclude
 and committed
 satisfied him [in]
*Commencement of section altered,
 the former division having been
 made in the middle of a sentence.*
 when the Chancellor
 without giving
 if he had
 useful to him
 he might as soon
 were to be suspected
 content that he [himself]
 and intended
 friend to the governor
 never be treaty
 presenting to him
 do more good
 so, at the surrender

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

160.
 162. a resentment [of that] and [a] demand
 163. conveyed [this] to some
 164. way which [having been] never
 169. and to that purpose [she] sent
 172. who [had] reduced
 174. [as] that the king
 175. all [the] overtures

- X. 3. a fleet of [about] twenty-seven
 that his [highness's] remove

5.

9. said to [his highness]
 prevailed with [the prince]
 10. imminent danger
 21. that [his highness] should come
 he [had] caused
 24. rigid spirit which possessed
 26. had appeared [to him] to be
 30. they shall know his day
 32.
 [His majesty] had before sent to
 [two] eminent commanders
 38. and therefore [desired] that the
 whole matter
 39. were made there [as] he thought
 40. if the court
 that in [the] two months' time
 42. [but] by unseasonable
 45. in respect of the affairs
 46. Mr. Ashburnham's opinion
 47. he was to press
 pursued by [Bellievre] which
 those lords
 or to be privy
 49. with [such] a torrent [as] carried
 down
 50. the king's legal right[s]
 51. and yet the Scots observed
 all the ceremonies [as] could
 which [they said] they would
 manifest

The last line now first inserted.
 a resentment, and demand

conveyed to some
 [way] which being never
 and to that purpose sent
 who reduced
 and that the King
 all his overtures

*Ending of the section altered, the
 former division having been in
 the middle of a sentence.*

a fleet of twenty-seven
 that his remove
*A line transposed in the middle of
 the section.*

said to him
 prevailed with him
 eminent danger
 that he should come
 he caused
 rigid spirit possessed
 had appeared to be
 they should know his day
Beginning of section altered.

He had before sent to eminent
 commanders
 and therefore that the whole matter

were made there which he thought
 that, if the Court
 in two months' time
 by unseasonable
 both in respect of the affairs
 and Mr. Ashburnham's opinion
 the ambassador was to press
 pursued by him which those lords

or be privy
 with that torrent that carried down
 the King's legal right
 and yet they observed
 all the ceremony [which] could
 which they would manifest

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 53. were shortly [after] communicated | were shortly communicated |
| 55. and in which his majesty
For [as hath been already said]
by his advice | in which his majesty
For by his advice |
| 57. took upon him[self] | took upon him |
| 69. which [had] appointed | which appointed |
| 75. [having] desired | and desired |
| 77. very exemplary | very exemplar |
| 79. such [as] bitterly inveighed | such who bitterly inveighed |
| 80. the earl of Essex [some months
before this] | the earl of Essex |
| 81. | <i>Beginning of section altered.</i> |
| 82. and [when] they had no more | and that they had no more |
| 83. disbanding of the army | disbanding the army |
| 87. spirits of Fairfax | spirit of Fayrefax |
| 89. having the night before | [he had] the night before |
| 90. showed [him] his pistol
Neither of the other [soldiers]
spoke | showed them his pistol
neither of the other[s] spake |
| 91. or [from] any purpose | or any purpose |
| 92. [well nigh] a full year | a full year |
| 93. [his majesty] sat still | he sat still |
| 96. as well as their fame | as well as their fames |
| 103. [the] two princesses
[at] a house | two princesses
a house |
| 104. which was [now] the scene | which was the scene |
| 105. [the lords had] upon the very
presentation of a general accu-
sation
sequestered from [their] house | they had upon the very presentation
of general accusation
sequestered from the House |
| 106. [now] entirely presbyterian
delivered [up] by the Scots | entirely Presbyterian
delivered by the Scots |
| 107. or for [the] purchase | or for their purchase |
| 108. letter to [the parliament]
and [the commons] presently
voted | letter to them
and presently voted |
| 110. to vindicate [the army]
[to] withdraw themselves | to vindicate them
withdraw themselves |
| 112. the king and [the] army
oppose [the] king and parliament | the King and army
oppose King and Parliament
<i>End of section altered, by including
the beginning of 113.</i> |
| 113. in[to] the houses
[they] thanked him
then they adjourned | in the Houses
thanked him
and then they adjourned |
| 118. to become [Roman] Catholic | to become Catholic |

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>122. [they] were not at leisure
for having deluded him
a presbyterian settlement</p> <p>126. a restraint</p> <p>127. [being the eleventh of November]
towards the [south-]west</p> <p>130. beholden to reports</p> <p>131. agitations in the army [were]</p> <p>134. [that] they both writ
opiniatres</p> <p>138. [was] issued out
upon strict search</p> <p>140. found with an ordinary</p> <p>141, 142.</p> <p>142. did declare</p> <p>142, 143.</p> <p>143. and [leave him] without any pos-
sibility</p> <p>145. at the head
[of their having brought] any man
to deprive [him] of his life</p> <p>146. way of proceeding
[from thenceforth] was
fidelity to them[selves]</p> <p>148. and rejecting</p> <p>151. and sequestrators</p> <p>154. their fidelity</p> <p>158. who had contrived</p> <p>160. great apprehension</p> <p>165. for a compliment</p> <p>167. presbyterian counsels</p> <p>169. united [among themselves]
odious [at first]</p> <p>170. There [now] seemed
part of [it]
by which [his majesty]</p> <p>171. some conditions
when the king
his [English] rebels
they had not [had]</p> <p>173. they were permitted</p> <p>174. [yet] infected</p> <p>XI. 3. so long upon [this]
4. engagement [lately mentioned]
5. and [coming]
6, 7.</p> | <p>were not at leisure
of having deluded him
a Presbyterial settlement
[and] a restraint
about the beginning of September
towards the west
beholding to reports
agitation in the army was
they both writ
<i>opiniatres</i>
issued out
upon strict [search]
found, himself, with an ordinary
<i>Division of sections altered.</i>
they did declare
<i>Division of sections altered.</i>
and without any possibility</p> <p>into the head
that they had ever brought any man
to deprive any man of his life
way of proceedings
but from thence he was
fidelity to them
and rejected
sequestrators
their fidelities
who had to contrive
great apprehensions
for a complement
Presbyterian councils
united
odious
There seemed
part of the army
by which he
some condition
and when the King
his rebels
they had not
that they were permitted
infected
so long upon it
engagement
and come
<i>Division of sections altered.</i></p> |
|--|---|

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

- | | |
|--|--|
| 12. the parliament [there] | the Parliament |
| 15. the [forementioned] lords | the lords |
| 18. he [should] be | he would be |
| 19. many alterations, his majesty in
all places | many alterations in all places, his
majesty |
| He had [now] no relation | He had no relation |
| 20. hoisted sail | hoised sail |
| 23. [and the rest] should stay
the ways by land | should stay
and the ways by land |
| [being] very dangerous | were very dangerous |
| 25. to serve him too | to serve him |
| what [now] fell out | what fell out |
| 26. And he observed | and observed |
| 27. of the attempt | in the attempt |
| He [writ] | He writes |
| which [had] subdued | which subdued |
| [against] their . . . [against] a
conspiracy | of their . . . of a conspiracy |
| [He added] that the affections | that the affections |
| 32. and [being] less beloved . | and less beloved |
| [they] having expressed | having expressed |
| 33. [that,] they should not meddle | they should not meddle |
| 35. 36. | <i>Division of sections altered.</i> |
| 36. [and] was not at all | nor was at all |
| and thought to be | was thought to be |
| that way. Dr. Steward | that way, and Dr. Steward |
| sent from [the Scots] | sent from thence |
| 40. had been prepar[ing] | had been prepared |
| and when [Pembroke] | and when the town |
| 42. [but he] was in the confidence | and was in the confidence |
| [and] the man | but the man |
| experience of war | experience of the war |
| 45. went to [those] lords | went to the lords |
| till the heat of this dispute [was]
over | till the heat of this dispute were
over |
| between [those two places] | between them |
| 49. strength of [that] nation | strength of the nation |
| 50. but [as hath been said] would not | but would not |
| 52. the council [in Scotland] | the Council |
| and that [then] they should pro-
ceed | and that they should proceed |
| resolution to [the lords there] | resolution to them |
| 55. 56. | <i>Division of sections altered, 55 for-
merly ending in the middle of a
sentence.</i> |
| 58. and had [always] so great | and had so great |

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

59. with a numerous
 60. they were [all] joined
 61. expect [a] conjunction
 67. there was [an] enterprise
 68. with [such] resolution, that
 69. the fleet [with him]
 70. the narrowing [of] the river, as if
 some [of his] ships
 71. the fault [upon] another
 72. [it] moved
 [and] it was quartered
 72, 73.

76. Cromwell's horse [under Lambert]
 77. had the [ill] fortune
 English forces [under Langdale]
 78. [It may be proper now to mention
 that] the lord Cottingham
 which he had [there]
 81. The [prince of Wales's] court
 [and] told them
 86. [the] next day after
 86, 87.
 87. [they] had raised
 89. [and] said he was
 they had [then] been accustomed
 to
 [The earl] replied
 that he [himself] should hear
 the victory [over the Scots]
 90. [that what] might then [have been
 fit]
 [The earl] said
 92. it was not [at first] believed
 over [their] whole body
 [or] that marched
 who had [been] broken
 93. desired [the destruction of them
 both]
 94. [saying], if he should
 96. and [some to] lose
 97. took [divers]
 102. [To return to the state of the
 King's affairs in England]
 [There was] a great appearance

with the numerous
 they were joined
 expect the conjunction
 there was one enterprise
 with resolution, [so] that
 the fleet
 the narrowing the river as if some
 ships
 the fault to another
 and moved
 that it was quartered
Division of sections altered, 72 formerly ending where there should only have been a comma.

Cromwell's horse
 had the fortune
 English forces
 The lord Cottingham

which he had
 The Court
 told them
 next day after
Division of sections altered.
 had raised
 said he was
 they had been accustomed to
 He replied
 that he should hear
 the victory
 that [what] might then be fit

He said
 it was not believed
 over the whole body
 and that marched
 who had broken
 desired both their destructions
 and said if he should
 and lose
 took [some]
Omitted.
 a great appearance

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 102. the answer [was] | the answer |
| 104. coming [to Kingston]
an hundred | coming thither
a hundred |
| 105. succeeded this
They sent [therefore]
[he] was contented
without [much] hurting | succeeds this
so that they sent
they were contented
without hurting |
| 107. The council [of war] had con-
sidered | The council had considered |
| 108. younger brother of
[of] an ill understanding, [of] a
rough nature
the party | younger brother to
an ill understanding, a rough nature

the <i>tertia</i> |
| 109. an ill orator [on]
they had [afterwards] the society | an ill orator in
they had the society |
| 110. near [half a year before] | near two years before |
| 111. shut up [about half a year] | shut up within few months of two
years |
| 113. extreme restraint [he was under]
before the treaty began | extreme restraint
before the treaty begin |
| 114. that nobody
no farther address[es] . . . no
more addresses
had been [proposed] towards a
treaty | and that nobody
no farther address . . . no more
address
had been towards a treaty |
| 116. principal persons of the kingdom
an army was raised
the [other] northern counties | principal persons of that kingdom
one army was raised
the northern counties |
| 117. some regiment[s]
introducing [of] a
grown elder | some regiment
introducing a
grown older |
| 122. with [the] neglect
reduce [Pontefract] | with neglect
reduce them |
| 123. others' horses
run him through | other horses
ran him through |
| 124. reclaim them
[but] he must require
whose lives | rest[r]ain them
[but] that he must require
and whose lives |
| 127. his [own] family | his family |
| 128. [so] that it might
Upon which, [he] asking | that might
Upon which, asking |
| 129. [Prince Rupert]; <i>three times</i> | The prince |
| 130. [Prince Rupert]; <i>twice</i>
concerning him[self]
after [his highness]
with all [his] force | The prince
concerning him
after the prince
with all force |

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 131. destruction of [their] trade
the [most] proper application | destruction of trade
the proper application |
| 132. her mind [then] so fixed
after [that lord's] coming | her mind so fixed
after his coming |
| 133. in the[ir] port
[the earl] sent
use of [the] king | in the port
he sent
use of King |
| 134. debauched | debased |
| 135. left the [prince's] fleet | left the fleet |
| 137. [for] the true worth
who should [be] | to the true worth
who should |
| 138. all [its] prejudice | all the prejudice |
| 140. would extend
that they [should be] gone | would extend as well
that they were gone |
| 141. but [the duke]
served [both] | but he [the duke]
served his highness |
| 142. whither it [should] go | whither it could go |
| 144. [as] would put
circumstances of blood[iness]
[as] had dependence | that would put
circumstances of blood
who had dependence |
| 146. they concluded that [the English-
Irish] | they concluded that they |
| 147. [Roman] catholic religion | Catholic religion |
| 148. to enrich him[self] | to enrich him |
| 149. [the fleet] must be carried | it must be carried |
| 150. whither [his royal highness] would
be pleased
who had long commanded | whither he would be pleased

who had long command |
| 156. emergent occasions | immergent occasions |
| 157. [a year's time] | near two years (<i>corrected in a note</i>). |
| 158. except [the Scots]
to give a pass
[his majesty] delivered them | except they [the Scots]
that they would give a pass
delivered them |
| 163. their not prosecuting any | the not prosecution of |
| 167. vexations | vexation |
| 169. lords bishops | lord bishops |
| 172. which the major part | and which the major part |
| 173. hereby they had [had] | hereby they had |
| 176. and [were in effect] compre-
hended | and was comprehended |
| 178. fit to send [it] | fit to send |
| 180. lands [was insisted on] | lands |
| 182. which [were] | which was |
| 185. deserved so well [of the parliament] | deserved so well |
| 187. that [as] he would join . . . so he
would secure | that he would join . . . [and] so he
would secure |

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- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>190. unchristian
of prince and people
If you thus use it
For our subjects</p> <p>192. you to your rights
foul or unjust means
what we have recommended
<i>C. R.</i></p> <p>192, 193.</p> <p>194.</p> <p>193. republican government</p> <p>196.
and [who] was then</p> <p>200. republican government
no more address[es] to the king
[from making] the like bold at-
tempts</p> <p>201. [were] taken notice of
gainer by the trouble[s]</p> <p>204. answers were satisfactory, or if
[they] were not</p> <p>210. [the] present parliament</p> <p>213. [upon] the protestant religion</p> <p>216. report [of] what the parliament
intended</p> <p>217. as peers [above twice or thrice at
most]</p> <p>220. and [divers] accepted the office
and [said] he would then
[and] a good sum of money</p> <p>222. to [the] design
could not [reasonably] deny him</p> <p>224. which [they said] would be</p> <p>225. and [that he] being once</p> <p>226. that he [should] be
would have [parties]</p> <p>227. [and] said, they could
he [ought to pay so] dear</p> <p>231. bloody wars
And [it was] prayed</p> <p>238. interposition was eluded</p> <p>239. [a] short character
profane word</p> <p>241. still of [that nation]</p> <p>242. coming shortly [after]</p> <p>243. if he were . . . if he [were]</p> | <p>unchristianly
for prince and people
And if you thus use it
For subjects</p> <p>you to your right
foul and unjust means
what we here recommend
<i>Omitted.</i>
<i>Are united.</i>
<i>Is divided into 193, 194.</i>
republican government
<i>Section begins one line earlier.</i>
and was then
republican government
no more address to the King
to make the like bold attempts</p> <p>was taken notice of
gainer by the trouble</p> <p>answer was satisfactory, or if it
were not
that present Parliament
to the Protestant religion
report what the Parliament in-
tended
as peers (<i>foot-note added</i>).</p> <p>and accepted the office
and he would then
a good sum of money
to that design
could not deny him
which would be
and [he] being once
that he might be
would have [a] party
said, they could
he should have paid too dear
bloody war
and prayed
interposition was deluded
the short character
profane word in religion
still of those
coming shortly
if he was . . . if he was</p> |
|--|--|

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|---|---|
| 244. used in [England] | used in that country |
| 245. Upon the return of [king Charles the Second] | Upon the return of the King |
| [at the time of the interment] | at that time [of the interment] |
| 246. [who] would yet | [many who] would yet |
| 250. their own [seemed to be] | their own was |
| those monsters | these monsters |
| 251. who [had been] his ambassador of a great price | who was his ambassador at a great price |
| 254-264. | <i>Numbers of the sections altered.</i> |
| 254. upon [the late king] | upon this King |
| [to] the crown | from the Crown |
| give him leave to live | give him leave |
| 255. [no other of their lives] | none of their other lives |
| 259. more bitterness | the more bitterness |
| concerning him[self] | concerning him |
| whether [the speaker] | whether he [the Speaker] |
| 264. [but] at the foot of the scaffold | at the foot of the scaffold he |
| [his lordship] | |
| as soon as [his lordship] | as soon as he |
| 265. exemplar[y] piety | exemplar piety |
| 266. [His] memory | whose memory |
| 267. deserve best [of the English] nation | deserve best in that nation |
| XII. 3. [his majesty] had not enough | he had not enough |
| 4. sent [his majesty] word | sent him word |
| Charles, &c. | Charles |
| [But] they two | But they two |
| without being discovered, the earl of Lanrick | without being discovered if himself did go on shore, the earl of Lanricke himself |
| 6. [and had] reduced | reduced |
| sects and [libertinism] | sects and liberty |
| 8. then [they were] to enter | then to enter |
| king [or] members | King and members |
| 13. [he might] reverse | [able] to reverse |
| 14. and which always | and [one] which always |
| 15. into the Scottish army | in the Scots' army |
| in[to] Germany | in Germany |
| murder of the [late] king | murder of the King |
| 17. [and] those who had joined | those who had joined |
| who thought [the Scottish lords] | who thought they |
| 18. inhumanities [Mountrose] was | inhumanities he was guilty of |
| guilty of | |
| [The earl] confessed | He confessed |
| 19. [he having] been | that lord having been |

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|--|-----------------------------|
| 19. and [he] now | and now |
| 20. to visit [the duke] | to visit him |
| 29. oblig[ed] himself | obliging himself |
| 34. friend to [the crown of France] | friend to that Crown |
| was at Madrid | was in Madrid |
| and [he repeated] some expres-
sions | and some expressions |
| 35. [they] living and keeping house | living and keeping house |
| benefit to [his majesty] | benefit to him |
| [and] if it were only | if it were only |
| thought [this] discourse | thought the discourse |
| 40. [by] his own interest | in his own interest |
| without any [public character] | without any <i>fausto</i> |
| 43. [the chancellor] could not pre-
sume | he could not presume |
| Others [said, they] knew | Others knew |
| others [that some] who were not
named | others who were not named |
| 44. the second reading | a second reading |
| 49. compliments [to him] from the
king | compliments from the King |
| 52. and [its] disability | and disability |
| which [the ambassadors] imputed | which they imputed |
| 53. When [the ambassadors] had
despatched | when they had despatched |
| to find [now] more difficulties | to find more difficulties |
| 54. give her [that] satisfaction | give her satisfaction |
| 57. conte de Harcourt | count Harcourt |
| set down | sat down |
| 58. conde Fuensaldagna | count of Fuensaldagna |
| counte de Garcies | count of Garcies |
| 59. that [had] happened | that was happened |
| retired [from her] | retired |
| 59, 60. | <i>Differently divided.</i> |
| 60. ought to have [had] | ought to have |
| for whom [his majesty] | for whom he |
| 61. all which [his majesty] | all which he |
| [and] of the great credit | of the great credit |
| 62. [that] if he did not | if he did not |
| 63. prevail with [his majesty] | prevail with him |
| 64. that [his majesty] was | that he was |
| 65. the governors [there] | the governors |
| 66. would not submit | would not submit [to] |
| 68. [about thirty miles from] Dublin | within ten miles of Dublin |
| 72. [he] could act it | could act it |
| with the [hazard] of his life | with the loss of his life |

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|---|--|
| <p>73. It [was] an incredible
they arrived [there]</p> <p>75. received by [that lord]
when he should require [them]</p> <p>76. his [most Christian] majesty
the king [our master]</p> <p>78. [the queen-mother of France]</p> <p>79. [the ambassadors] declined</p> <p>80. his guards</p> <p>81. to the [Taio] of Spain
out of the town
at the [Taio]
Girona</p> <p>85. that nobody could attend</p> <p>86. <i>fausto</i> of a Spaniard
rhodomontadoes</p> <p>87. their revenue[s]</p> <p>89. two [men] run still together</p> <p>90. clinquant
made the[ir] reverences
by the people
if he escapes
as a last refuge
remain perpetually maimed</p> <p>92 (formerly 98) most efficacious
terms [possible]</p> <p>100, 101.</p> <p>101. and [that he] believed</p> <p>106. before his favours</p> <p>107. <i>sumiller de corps</i>
some estates
understanding [of] the affairs
much esteemed
the king [our master]</p> <p>108. a king [of England]
would think [proper] to send
they [had] desired</p> <p>114. the council [was] astonished</p> <p>116. entered the works
were butchered</p> <p>121. might be [long] together
she knew well that [the court of
France]</p> <p>122. ministers sent [from Scotland]</p> | <p>It is an incredible
they arrived
received by him
when he should require
his majesty [the French King]
the King [of England]
the Queen [of France]
they declined
and his guards
to the <i>rayo</i> of Spain
out of town
at the <i>rayo</i>
Jeron [Irun]
[so] that nobody could attend
<i>fausto</i> of the Spaniard
the rodomontados
their revenue
two run still together
clinkant
made the reverences
by people
if he escapes
as the last refuge
remained perpetually maimed
most efficacious terms</p> <p><i>Differently divided, having formerly
been divided in the middle of a
sentence.</i></p> <p>and believed
before his favour
<i>somelier de corps</i>
some estate
understanding the affairs
[was] much esteemed
the King
a King
would think to send
they desired
the Council were astonished
entered the work
[they] were butchered
might be together
she knew well that France</p> <p>ministers sent</p> |
|---|--|

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122. [His majesty] must not carry
 124. [yet] the hope
 126. importuned [that court] for a despatch
 127. yet they found [his majesty] bred [a] very warlike people
 129. and [he] had been compelled
 130. [Mountrose] knew
 131. [it] being in March he [conveyed] the arms faithful to [the king]
 133. join with [Straghan]
 133. 134.
 135. to carry [them] in triumph [which] was received treated [the marquis]
 136. declaration against him
 137. [that] when the king
 139. prejured picture hang
 142. [Mountrose] was in his nature
 143. and so [his majesty] pursued
 145. that [they] might well enough
 148. into the field [there]
 150. the spirits of all the loyal party were which [then] they desired
 153. unfortunate action[s]

- XIII. 1. any accommodation [even]
 4. accustomed to do [their sabbath]
 7. to [the] full dignity
 12. insomuch [that] the street
 14. The [English] ambassadors

15. [the prisoners] were proceeded against
 19.
 20. [he] being destroyed there
 22. Cromwell [lost very few men]
 23. [which defeat had] put [who] if they should only a [stricter] confinement that [his majesty] could not go

He must not carry
 the hope
 importuned for a despatch

yet they found he
 bred very warlike people
 and had been compelled
 He knew
 being in March
 he brought the arms
 faithful to him [the King]
 join with him

*Divided differently, having formerly
 been divided in the middle of a
 sentence.*

to carry him in triumph
 and was received
 treated him
 declamation against him
 when the King
 perjured
 picture hung
 He was in his nature
 and so he pursued
 that might well enough
 into the field
 the spirit of all the loyal party was
 which they desired
 unfortunate action

any accommodation
 accustomed to do
 to their full dignity
 insomuch as the street
 The ambassadors (*The ambassadors referred to are distinctly not the English.*)
 they were proceeded against

Commencement of section altered.
 being destroyed there
 Cromwell did not want twenty men
 which had put
 and if they should
 only a more confinement
 that he could not go

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24.

*Division of sections altered, sections
23, 24 being formerly divided in
the middle of a sentence.*

25. and [that the court]
 26. He [had] resolved
 27. he had not foreseen
 whilst the other [ambassador]
 28. to part [of what he said]
 30. He had a very fine
 great delight [than most of his
 quality]
 [He] left behind him
 33. He [had] found
 34. the other functions
 35. emergent occasions
 and [his] declared resolution
 [for our] King
 36. and [have] infused
 37. to be advised by
 38. beneficial to him[self]
 42. speak to him [about] it
 44. and that the [French] king
 He presumed [therefore]
 46. [However] he was very glad
 47. all [his] former professions
 48. easy [then] to be guarded
 51. in Scotland. By that time that
 Cromwell was ready to take the
 field [his majesty] was per-
 suaded
 52. major general [Brown]
 would [be able to] cut off
 [which,] how unfortunate
 53. with [promise of] large under-
 takings
 55. his [majesty's] march
 obliging [him] to march close;
 [not] engaging his [own] party
 56. [Cromwell] resolved
 St. Johnston's or any [other] place
 57. When [Cromwell] had despatched
 59. and [besides] his motion was so
 quick that none [of them could
 repair] to him
 60. [Lambert] according to [his]
 order

and they [the Court]
 He resolved
 he did not foresee
 whilst the other
 to part
 and had a very fine
 great delight

 and left behind him
 He found
 the other function
 emergent occasions
 and declared resolution
 [for] the King
 and infused
 to be advised by [them]
 beneficial to him
 speak to him in it
 and that the King
 He presumed
 He was very glad
 all former professions
 easy to be guarded
 in Scotland, by that time that Crom-
 well was ready to take the field.
 He was persuaded

 general major Bayly
 would cut off
 and [which,] how unfortunate
 with large undertakings

 his march
 obliging them to march close, with-
 out engaging his party
 He resolved
 [Sterling] or any place *See note.*
 when he had despatched
 and his motion was so quick that
 none repaired to him

 they [Lambert's troops] according
 to their order

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- | | |
|---|--|
| 61. in order to which [the earl] | In order to which they |
| 64. lest they [themselves] should become | lest they should become |
| 65. in which [there might be an opportunity for] several insurrections | in which there might be several insurrections |
| 66, 67. | <i>Division of the sections altered.</i> |
| 68. | <i>Section 82 brought here into its right place.</i> |
| 68 [82]. loyalty to the [late] king | loyalty to the King |
| 69 [68]. and he [himself] might | and he might |
| 71 [70]. [and] who repaired again | who repaired again |
| 72 [71]. nothing could be less [so] confer it upon him[self]. At which [the king] | nothing could be less [so] to it confer it upon him; at which he |
| 73 [72]. with stray shot which he [had] secured | with ray-shot which he secured |
| 77 [76]. the same pretence [for it] | the same pretence |
| 80 [79]. where[ver] twenty horse and twenty [of them] | where twenty horse and twenty |
| 83. that evening [after the battle] | that evening |
| 84. an oak which was in that wood | an oak, who was in that wood |
| 85. well [or] ill affected | well and ill affected |
| 92, 93. | <i>Division of the sections altered.</i> |
| 93. [sir Thomas] Jermyn | Tom Jermin |
| 96. and thereupon the day [was] appointed | and there upon the day appointed |
| 106. had been advertised [and] sent | [and] had been advertised sent |
| though all [good] men | though all men |
| 107. [was] too little | too little |
| 108. the king was pleased himself of [such] courage | the King himself was pleased of courage |
| 110. [and was] of the same, or a greater pride | of the same, or a greater, pride |
| 112. were shortly [after] prevailed | were shortly prevailed |
| 113. And for instance | And for an instance |
| 114. had [been] issued out | had issued out |
| 115. or [being] assassinated | or to be assassinated |
| [And though] he did not believe and [it was] in his power safely | He did not believe and in his power safely |
| 116. marquis of Ormond would not [but] embarked himself | marquis of Ormonde who would not embarked himself |
| 117. he [had] intercepted some letter[s] | he intercepted some letter |
| 120. emulations and ambitions | emulation and ambition |
| 122. upon [that lord's] return | upon his return |

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|---|--|
| <p>122. the king's return [from England]
to his [highness's] glory
under the direction
[the other] had not enlarged</p> <p>123. amongst [whom] he knew
[his highness] was confirmed
[The king] knew</p> <p>124. [Berkley] took this refusal</p> <p>125. as he [himself] did at that time
whatever [his majesty] might</p> <p>126. [Sir John Berkley] was not satis-
fied at all with the reason
relations of his [own] actions
[his majesty] affected not</p> <p>128. nor did [his majesty] in the least
discover what he [himself] was
inclined to
that [his majesty] should not</p> <p>129. notice of [them]
[Yet] if there had not been</p> <p>129, 130.</p> <p>130. [For] when the king
resolved to bear [that]</p> <p>131. the king's return [into France]
in that [the presbyterian] party
to do [the king] service
to persuade [the king] to change
of [his] being restored
an united force</p> <p>133. [it] was in a time
people [now] had undeserved it
[had] published an apology</p> <p>134. that [they thought] the professors
it [had] yet ever suffered
received from the king [himself]</p> <p>135. warrantably for his life</p> <p>135, 136.</p> <p>136. [This last] after
[and] such advertisements</p> <p>138. He told [the king]</p> <p>140. He told [his majesty]
from [that] trust</p> <p>141. If [his majesty] entertained it</p> | <p>the King's return
to his glory
as under the direction
he had not enlarged
amongst which he knew
he was confirmed
He knew
He took this refusal
as he did at that time
whatever he [the King] might
He [Berkely] was not satisfied at all
in the reason
relations of his actions
he affected not
nor did in the least discover what he
was inclined to
that he should not
notice of it
But if there had not been</p> <p><i>Division of sections altered.</i></p> <p>When the King
resolved to bear it
the King's return
in that party
to do him service
to persuade him to change
of the King's being restored
a united force
was in a time
people had undeserved it
published an apology
that the professors
it hath yet ever suffered
received from the King
warrantably prisoners for
his life</p> <p><i>Division of sections altered, 136
formerly beginning, with altered
text, in the middle of a sentence.</i></p> <p>who, after
but such advertisements
He told him
He told him
from the trust
If he entertained it</p> |
|---|--|

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|--|--|
| <p>141. [As] to the general
incident to [that] nation</p> <p>142. they [who] hitherto
all [their] king's commands</p> <p>143. visited [our] king
office of a brave general</p> <p>144. So that in truth [our] king</p> <p>146. found no benefit [of this kind]</p> <p>147. he importuned [his majesty]</p> <p>148. no expedient so proper [for him]</p> <p>149. no degree straight
enlarging [on] all the benefits</p> <p>152. that [his majesty] must expect
matter[s] of religion</p> <p>153. against the [French] king
to any countenance</p> <p>155. [who,] disdaining</p> <p>159. for, upon [the arrival of that ex-
press]
[and] more wounded</p> <p>161. of a hundred</p> <p>163. Sir George Ayscue [being just re-
turned from the West Indies]
[were making] haste</p> <p>164. when [his majesty] imparted</p> <p>166. they thought it reason[able]</p> <p>167. civilly with [the parliament]</p> <p>168. broke [their hearts]
[The Dutch having been beaten in
the month of October and Blake
having received a brush from
them in the month of December,]
in the month of February
sent a fleet of above one hundred
they found that the English]</p> <p>169. [who] rejected the overture
all his [other] counsels
vengeance upon [the parliament]</p> <p>170. Though [Cromwell] was exercised
having well defended [Jersey]
could [have] put
to give [his majesty] any assist-
ance
to fall into [Cromwell's] power
than to deposit them upon any
conditions into [French] hands</p> | <p>To the general
incident to the nation
they which hitherto
all the King's commands
visited the King
office of a great general
So that in truth the King
found no benefit
he importuned him
no expedient so proper
in no degree straight
enlarging all the benefits
that he must expect
matter of religion
against the King
to any part of the countenance
which, disdaining
for, upon his arrival</p> <p>but more wounded
of one hundred
Sir George Askew</p> <p>made haste
when he imparted
they thought it reason
civilly with them
broke the hearts of all the Dutch
In the month of February</p> <p>they sent a fleet of above a hundred
they found the English
and they rejected the overture
all his counsels
vengeance upon them
Though he was exercised
having well defended the same
could put
to give him [the King] any assist-
ance
to fall into its power than to deposit
them upon any conditions into
their hands</p> |
|--|--|

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171. Upon which
 172. as well as [by] being
 173. all the[ir] industry
 174. there [had] happened
 175. republic government
 176. part of the [popish] clergy
 178. all three [had been] of the king's
 council
 179. [The duke] writ
 181. for the [popish] bishops
 184. the [popish] bishops
 186. and thereupon [the marquis]
 and so [the marquis]
 He left behind [him]
 his own [ad]ministration
 XIV. 3. gave [the army] new matter
 profession[s]
 4. These addresses in the name of
 the army, [being] confidently
 delivered
 5.
 [But] Mr. Martyn
 that nobody could
 6, 7.
 9. all [the] members walked out
 10. [But] that they had
 12. in[to] the hands of men
 salvus non esse possit
 14. he made [yet] no other council
 16. and telling
 20. against all who [had] called
 24. would observe
 27. Though during this [last year's]
 unsettlement
 34. [he] forced
 [he] prosecuted
 [the] utmost rigour
 from the cit[ies]
 39. Whereupon [the don] repaired
 [and] entered
 41. as he was [pleased]
 43. was [then] generally looked upon
 44. luck's sake
 45. [Lenthall] was no sooner
 [which alone had emboldened
 him] to command

Present Edit.

- Upon which he
 as well as being
 all the industry
 there happened
 republic[an] government
 part of the clergy
 all three of the King's Council
 He writ
 for the bishops
 the bishops
 And thereupon he
 and so he
 He left behind
 his own ministration
 gave them new matter
 profession
 These addresses [being] in the name
 of the army, and confidently de-
 livered
Divided into 5 and 6.
 Mr. Martin
 that nobody would
United in 7.
 all members walked out
 That they had
 in*the hands of men
salvus esse non posset
 he made no other council
 and telling them
 against all who called
 *would observe [it]
 Though during this unsettlement
 forced
 prosecuted
 utmost rigour
 from the city
 Whereupon he repaired
 he entered
 as he was contented
 was generally looked upon
 luck sake
 He was no sooner
 which had been only that which
 emboldened him to command

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45. council [of] officers
 47. depriving them
 50. like to reconcile [him]
 51. prosecution against [Lilburn]
 52. nor could [they] be persuaded
 [are] thought pertinent
 53. abroad, [or] from the friendship
 of [Cromwell's] power
 54. he had some advantage [with him]
 his majesty had [in France]
 [his majesty] resumed
 [And] Germany
 [what] fit place
 55. [It was most] suitable
 necessary, Wilmont pressed

 for that character
 [but] that if he had
 56. knocked [on] the head
 57. breaking off that union
 [he] excused himself
 58. advantageous. [And how could
 those now, drawn together by
 chance, half armed and undis-
 ciplined, be able to contend with
 victorious troops]
 with what they [had] got
 and [Middleton]
 was [assured he should] be enabled
 59. thither to him [through Scotland]
 with [the marquis]
 The king, [who] had much
 having heard [of his design]
 61. Many of the troop[ers]
 64. from whose affections [his majesty]
 65. [their animosities against him still
 breaking out one after] another
 [and the queen mother of France]
 66. [his majesty] writ
 queen [mother]
 69. in the [English] court
 and that [his highness]
 70. to which [it was] apprehended
 And therefore [his majesty]
 any thing [was] to have been done

council and officers
 depriving of them
 like to reconcile them
 prosecution against him
 nor could be persuaded
 were thought pertinent
 abroad, from the friendship
 of his power
 he had some advantage
 his majesty had there [in France]
 he resumed
 [as to] which, Germany
 some fit place
 Though it was more suitable
 necessary if he pretended to that
 character, [yet] Wilmont pressed
 for the character
 and that if he had
 knocked in the head
 breaking of that union
 excused himself
 advantageous than people now drawn
 together by chance, half armed
 and disciplined, were now like to
 contend [in] with victorious troops

 with what they got
 and the other
 was promised to be enabled
 thither to him
 with him [the marquis]
 The King, that had much
 having heard
 Many of the troop
 from whose affections he
 one breaking out after another

 who [the Queen Regent]
 he writ
 Queen [Regent]
 in the Court
 and that he
 to which he apprehended
 And therefore he
 any thing had been to have been
 done

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>71. [that] what treasure
and [that] the ships</p> <p>72. who [they thought] still had</p> <p>74. but [that] he undertook
the witness [herself]
to do [him] more justice</p> <p>77. money for her journey [back]</p> <p>78. countenance of the [French] court
[yet if sold] he presumed</p> <p>80. sale of those cannon</p> <p>82. and to communicate [to his
majesty] all
which [the king] did not desire</p> <p>84. [the king] declared his resolution
because of the [king his master's]
restraint
the matter to himself</p> <p>86. daughter of the house [of Leices-
ter]</p> <p>88. And this [happened in the latter
end of the year 1652, and] was
so well prosecuted
since he was [about a year] old</p> <p>91. which [the keeper] could not</p> <p>93. he [himself] knew not how
so high [an] affront</p> <p>94. which had been made [of him to]
her majesty</p> <p>96. than [that] was in view</p> <p>99. trusting only [to]</p> <p>100, 101.</p> <p>103. [that assembly] was prevailed
with
elector [palatine]
great obligations
to have resisted [them]</p> <p>106. kindness to him[self]
preserve it for him</p> <p>107. in the [Cromwell's] council</p> <p>108. lazy and unactive</p> <p>109. [that] news came</p> <p>111. who confessed that the trade</p> <p>112. [till] some ceremonies
[from] which they might recede
[his majesty] made no scruple
duchess [of Newburgh] went</p> | <p>what treasure
and the ships
who still had
but he [Longe] undertook
the witness
to do more justice
money for her journey
countenance of the Court
he presumed
sale of these cannon
and to communicate all
which he did not desire
he declared his resolution
because of the [French] king's re-
straint
the matter to [the cardinal] himself
daughter of the house</p> <p>And this was so well prosecuted</p> <p>since he was three months old
which he [the Keeper] could not
he knew not how
so high affront
which had been made before her
majesty
then was in view
trusting only
<i>Division of the sections altered.</i>
it was prevailed with</p> <p>Elector of Heydleburgh
great obligations both
to have resisted
kindness to him
preserve [it] for him
in the council
laish and unactive
before news came
who confess that the trade
without some ceremonies
upon which they might recede
made no scruple
duchess went</p> |
|---|---|

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 116. since the elector [palatine] | since the Elector of Heydlebergh |
| 118. [his majesty] knew the reproaches | he knew the reproaches |
| 119. with his [majesty's] directions | with his directions |
| 120. He [had] fomented | He fomented |
| [were] concerned | was concerned |
| [the nuncio] spake | he spake |
| 121. [but] that it was not in his power | that it was not in his power |
| 122. wishes [for] the king's restoration | wishes of the King's restoration |
| 123. for [more] commissions and in- | for commissions and instructions |
| structions | |
| 124. addressed [only] to the king | addressed to the King |
| worse satisfied | worst satisfied |
| [as] they had formerly done | which they had formerly done |
| 125. distance [near enough] to counten- | distance to countenance it |
| ance it | |
| 127. And [with] this errand [the earl] | And in this errand he left Cullen |
| left Cologne | |
| [for] which he used | in which he used |
| frankly declared [to him] | frankly declared |
| 130. [whose] agents | and their agents |
| [It] was an argument | And it was an argument |
| 131. [according] to expectation | to expectation |
| 132. But [he] having not thought | But having not thought |
| 133. the [civil] power of that county | the power of that county |
| 134. desired to be presently released | desired should be presently released |
| some honest [men's] houses | some honest houses |
| 135. [and] looked upon it | [but] looked upon it |
| the [ill] success at Salisbury | the success at Salisbury |
| 136. [The justice] commanded the | He commanded the keeper of the |
| keeper of the inn, one Gilvy | inn, one Kilby |
| out of [the] house | out of house |
| 137. whatsoever [his majesty] resolved | whatsoever he resolved to do |
| to do | |
| [The king] did not at all wonder | He did not at all wonder |
| 138. [it] being an imposture | being an imposture |
| as was dangerous | that was dangerous |
| news of [London] | news of the town |
| 140. [He] therefore told the king | And therefore he told the King |
| 143. that of the latter date | that of the later date |
| 144. who arose | who rose |
| 149. that they [the king's party] might | that they might |
| 150. [whether] presbyterian | Presbyterian |
| none but [the king's] party | none but that party |
| 151. [and upon] the foulness | [and] the foulness |
| that [it] obliged | that obliged |
| [who] was to be removed | that was to be removed |

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

151. use of [against him] in the next
parliament

use of in the next Parliament

XV. 1. *Marius aspiciens*

2. He [then] beheld
by his [other] rebels
3. [Lastly,] England
that [little or] no part

4. [but] with those

5, 6.

[was] likewise

6. nor [could he] make

6, 7.

7. in whom [Cromwell]

9. [and] making prize
after a short stay

10. [so] tired

to [the] bay

11. making after [wards frequent] in-
cursions

12. whilst he [sent] out

13. wished [the men] might be re-
called

15. to contend with [him]

16. deliverance [to be sent him] from
Madrid

17. the king [of Spain] (*twice*)

marquis [of] Carracena
council was taken

18. both the [late]

that [his majesty] could bring

19. came to [his majesty]

[The king] quickly
of the [English] army
between [don Alonzo]

23. were not [much] lessened

24. keep them [as] a guard

25. committed [to prison]
and [there was] no appeal

26. [Spanish West] India fleet
of the [English] fleet
so the [Spanish] admiral

27. through the city

saw the [English] fleet

28. [He] therefore resorted

29. [some of them] that they might

cum Marius aspiciens

He beheld

by his rebels

England

that no part

and with those

Differently divided.

were likewise

nor make

Differently divided.

in whom they

making prize

after as short stay

so, tired

to their bay

making after incursions

whilst he manned out

wished it might be recalled

to contend with them

deliverance from Madrid

The King (*twice*)

marquis Caracena

counsel was taken

both the former

that he could bring

came to him

and he quickly

of the army

between him [don Alonzo]

were not lessened

keep them a guard

committed

and no appeal

Indian fleet

of the fleet

so the admiral

through the city of London

saw the fleet

And therefore he reported

that they might

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 30. than [that it should] appear | than to appear |
| 31. dignity of a king | dignity of the king |
| 33. to the [present] government | to the government |
| 36. made by [upon] them | made by them |
| 37. as he could establish | as he would establish |
| 43. absent than [oppose it] | absent than opposite |
| 52. and so march | and so marched |
| Montmedy [and St. Venant] | Mon[tm]edy |
| 53. made a noise | made the noise |
| [west] Indian fleet | Indian fleet |
| 55. the general saw | the generals saw |
| [he] resolved | they resolved |
| [so] that they lay | but that they lay |
| 56. [who] had destroyed | which had destroyed |
| 57. no pomp [of funeral] | no pomp |
| [among] the monument[s] | in the monument |
| university [of Oxford] | university |
| 63. prosecute his [other] designs | prosecute his designs |
| 65. in the counties | in the countries |
| inconvenient to him[self] | inconvenient to him |
| 66. ordinary [occasion] | ordinary cause |
| 71. to the king's [service] | to the King's |
| 73. condition to [his majesty] | condition to him |
| 75. [don Juan] still writ | they still writ |
| who found [don Alonzo] | who found him |
| 76. so, when the time | so, that when the time |
| treaty [with Cromwell, the French] | treaty, they |
| 77. in the [cardinal's] disgrace | in the other's disgrace |
| ought to have [been] | ought to have done |
| 78. rhymes and songs | rhythms and songs |
| 80. [yet] the soldiers | the soldiers |
| 82. with her brother[s] | with her brother |
| 83. to give him[self] ease | to give him ease |
| 84. sent from [England] | sent from thence |
| 87. [his majesty] would not suffer | he would not suffer |
| till [the king's friends] should all | till they should all be ruined |
| be ruined | |
| 88. concluded [that] they would | concluded they would |
| 89. [as] would be able | that would be able |
| 95. enough against [himself] | enough against themselves |
| brought to trial [was Mr. Mordaunt.] After his arraignment | brought to trial, [Mordaunt,] after |
| and [which] he knew | his impeachment was read |
| that [the other] had done | and he knew |
| 96. [He] was brought | that he had done |
| strictly against him[self] | and was brought |
| | strictly against him |

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>97. a friend of [hers]
 98. [which having perused] he departed
 commission of Stapley
 [yet] he did it
 [by one of the judges—the stone]
 case [so] unheard of
 99. which [it] was not possible
 100. detest [the] violent and undutiful
 behaviour [of that parliament]
 104. amongst [those sectaries]
 107. or vainly
 steers and guides
 110. the sweet harmony
 the more glorious
 113. a reflex view
 upon our own sovereign
 virgin liberty
 117. we begun
 among ourselves
 118. throne of your father
 125. their councils
 and return
 in their infant
 127. of the times
 in this conjuncture
 130. may it please your majesty, &c.
 131. believed [that] these
 He returned [into England]
 132. [While these things were transacting]
 But [the Spaniards] sent
 133. [His majesty] was no sooner
 that [Sexby] might
 the other [they that sent the address] well knew
 stupidity of that [Spaniard]
 134. Nothing that was [yet] to come
 In the beginning of [the year]
 136. Jugurtha
 in which time [he] should
 137. [Our] king's foot
 many of the [French] officers
 138. [was now] resolved
 [who], though he disordered [them,
 were] quickly</p> | <p>a friend of his
 and having perused it, he departed

 commission to Stapely
 he did it
 <i>Bracketed line omitted.</i>
 case unheard of
 which was not possible
 detest their violent and undutiful
 behaviour
 amongst them
 and vainly
 steers, guides
 that sweet harmony
 the more gloriously
 a reflexed view
 upon our sovereign
 virgin liberties
 we began
 amongst ourselves
 throne of your fathers
 their counsels
 and to return
 in this their infant
 of [the] times
 in this juncture
 <i>The full subscription instead of, &c.</i>
 believed that these
 He returned
 In the mean time

 But they sent
 He was no sooner
 that he might
 the other[s] well knew

 stupidity of that man
 Nothing that was to come
 In the beginning of May
 Jugurth[a]
 in which time they should
 The King's foot
 many of the officers
 now was resolved
 which though he disordered, was
 quickly</p> |
|---|--|

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

140. When don Juan [had first] removed
the king [had] renewed
[His majesty] thereupon
141. for [the] accommodation
143. and [he] was still
144. who he [believed] wished
though he [had] got
at the day [appointed]
those troops [Cromwell]
were [placed] upon the Tower-hill
called [Syndercome]
that he [himself] was more odious
145. that which [chiefly] broke
146. and then he declared
he had [twice] triumphed
and [the tempest] was so universal,
that the [effects of it were terrible]
for besides
[were] cast away
after [the] circumstance
- 147.
148. to be renewed
150. expressions and sayings
was of council
155. Cromwell threatened [him]

- When don Juan removed
the King renewed
and thereupon
for accommodation
and was still
who he knew wished
though he got
at the day
those troops he [Cromwell]
were upon the Tower-hill
called him
that he was more odious
that which broke
and then declared
he had triumphed
and was so universal that there
[were] terrible effects of it
besides
having been cast away
after that circumstance
- Bracketed translations of the Latin
quotations omitted.*
- to be renew[ed]
expressions and saying
was of counsel
Cromwell threatened them

- XVI. 1. interest in [it]
such a conjuncture [as this]
arising from [Cromwell's death]
[and there was] the same
2. [his friends] could never expect
3. therefore [the new protector] sent
4. by [the] keeper
[than] there appeared the old
republican spirit
[and] into
all that [revenue]
to confirm [Richard]
[and] the power
They put [the house] in mind
5. temper of the house [of commons]
6. pay that [were] due
7. [on] April 6th

- interest in the kingdom
such a conjuncture
arising from hence
the same
they could never expect
therefore he sent
by his Keeper
but there appeared the old re-
publical spirit
enquired into
all that money
to confirm him
the power
They put them in mind
temper of the House
pay that was due
in April

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 7. [than] Titchburn | but Titchborne |
| 8, 9. | <i>Differently divided.</i> |
| 9. These [officers] were men
nearness of their alliance
and [their] obligation | These were men
mereness of their alliance
and the obligation |
| 10. [likewise] of equal courage | of equal courage |
| 11. door of [their] house | door of the house |
| 12. which they therefore did
republican to [their] wish | [this] they therefore did
republical to the[ir] wish |
| 13. This [restoring the rump parlia-
ment] was the only way | This was the only way |
| 14, 15. | <i>Differently divided.</i> |
| 15. twenty-nine thousand six hundred
and forty pounds | twenty-nine thousand pounds and
six hundred and forty |
| 17. though [it happened] long after-
wards | though long afterwards |
| [and] indeed unknown | indeed unknown |
| 18. but that he [himself] | but that he |
| <i>coquin</i> | cockayn [<i>coquin</i>] |
| 21. [when] they called to mind | but they called to mind |
| 23. and [to desire] that his majesty
[would] | and that his majesty might |
| 25. [that] would have
and [lain] concealed | and would have
and lay concealed |
| 27. that from thence | that they might from thence |
| 28. part of [his] affairs | part of affairs |
| 29. The gentleman accused [was sir
Richard Willis, who] had
been known [to Cromwell] | The gentleman accused had

been known |
| 30. would not [presently] depart
in [the] gentleman | would not depart
in that gentleman |
| 33. which [it] was | which was |
| 35. and [so] they found | and they found |
| 36. The night before [there] had
[been] | The night before had |
| 37. good fortune in it [to him] | good fortune in it |
| 38. yet [Sir George] being himself
to suppress all [there] | yet being himself
to suppress all |
| 44. account[s] every day from Eng-
land [of] what | account every day from England
what |
| 45. that whilst [his highness]
which seemed [now] | that whilst he
which seemed |
| 46. despair of his condition [resumed
a resolution he had formerly
taken to make a journey himself
to the borders of Spain, to solicit | despair of his condition, which was
discernible in everybody's coun-
tenance, insomuch as some persons
had advised the King to make |

Edit. 1849.

more powerful supplies; the two
chief ministers of the two crowns
being there met at this time.
And indeed his majesty pre-
ferred] any peregrination

the Spaniards [there]

[both] natural and acquired

47.

[47] 48. their thoughts [on]

[48] 49. which the queen [mother]

[49] 50. at a time [when] Spain
without the rest [of the
Spanish Netherlands]

[50] 51. irrecoverable [irreconcilable]
breach with her [majesty]
this [last] winter
[that] there would be
[of this year 1659]

[52] 53. and writ [to that purpose]

[53] 54. The two particulars were
[those concerning] Portugal

[54] 55. interview, a little river [near]
that place

brought the [two] favourites
[56] 57. propose [such] passes
acquiesced with [this] pro-
fession

[57] 58. the earl of Bristol, [Daniel
O'Neile]

would admit [of]
[59] 60. which, [he said,] was neces-
sary

[then] that Portugal
[60] 61. groundless rebellion [there]
that the [catholic] king

[61] 62. money [for what] they had
laid out

[67] 68. [whilst] O'Neile should go

[68] 69. upon the [king of England's]
entry

melancholy had made him

[69] 70. that was suitable

[71] 72. on such a day

[72] 73. on [removing] all former
mistakes

Present Edit.

a journey himself into Spain to
solicit more powerful supplies, and
to make Germany his way; to
which his majesty himself was not
uninclined, preferring any pere-
grination

the Spaniards

natural and acquired

74 transposed to this place.

their thoughts

which the Queen

at a time that Spain
without the rest

irrecoverable breach with her

this winter

that there would be

[of 1659]

and writ

The two particulars were, Portugal

interview. A little river in that
place

brought the favourites

propose passes

acquiesced with the profession

the earl of Bristol

would admit

which was necessary

that Portugal

groundless rebellion

That the King

money which they had laid out

until O'Neale should go

upon the King's entry

melancholy made him

as was suitable

upon such a day

upon all former mistakes

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

[74.]

75. the king could [now] look for

76. which [his majesty] had

77. as [God] hath scarce

78. a thousand pound[s]

80. and concluded [with a desire]

87, 88.

88. root out [his majesty's] party; in
all other [things]

Vane [was] a man

89. and appeared [appear] willing

90. which [might] be necessary

91. [besides] three or four

93. lest it [should be] corrupted
republican party

94. to hinder [the garrison there]

95. [but] that the force

disunion. [He added] that he

96. lord of Ormond [were] so rough

98. fidelity to him[self Cromwell]
more depended99. in which [they thought] he would
be sure

journey to [his brother]

101. be quickly overrun

102. all he cared for [from them]

103. [by] which imagination

benefit to him[self]

to [an] accommodation of peace

104. whither their generals [Haslerig
and Morley]

105. and [it was said] they caused

106. [and to] the covenant

Sir Harry Vane (*three times*)

[and one] whom they had raised

107. head[s] of their regiments

109, 110.

[111] 110. and [had] resumed

[112] 111. [had] neither received
any government [must] do

112.

113. possession of the [government]

114. courted him [at that time]

116. and giving [him] thanks

Now 47.

the King could look for

which he had

as he hath scarce

a thousand pound

and concluded

*Differently divided, having formerly
been divided in the middle of a
sentence.*root out his party. In all other
matters

Vane being a man

and [he] appeared willing

which should be necessary

three or four

lest it was corrupted

republican party

to hinder them

that the force

disunion; that he

lord Ormonde were so rough

fidelity to him he more depended

in which he would be sure

journey to him [his brother]

quickly be overrun

all he cared for

of which imagination

benefit to him

to accommodation of peace

whither their generals

and they caused

of the Covenant

Sir H. Vane (*three times*)

whom they had raised

head of their regiments

United.

and resumed

neither received

any government was to do

Divided into 111, 112.

possession of the power

courted him then

and giving thanks

Edit. 1849.

Present Edit.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 116. his [Monk's] advance [into Eng-land] | his advance |
| 117. delivered to [Fairfax] | delivered to him [Fairfax] |
| 119. [and] though his professions
most credit [with them]
those two members | though his professions
most credit
these two members |
| 120. under restraint [or absent] | under restraint |
| 122. observation he [had] made | observation he made |
| 124. This [refusal] would immediately
[have] put | This would immediately put |
| 125. deliberated [upon] the matter
they [should] be apprehended | deliberated the matter
they might be apprehended |
| 131. [and] there can be | There can be |
| 133. to his quarter[s]
he should think | to his quarter
[he] should think |
| 133-135. | <i>Differently divided.</i> |
| 140. of [such] unreasonable presumption | of unreasonable presumption |
| 141. confidence [to his majesty] | confidence |
| 143. all he [his majesty had] heard
dutiful answer [to it] | all he heard
dutiful answer |
| 144. [as] hard measure | all the hard measure |
| 145. [his party] having in all places | that people having in all places |
| 147. hands of his enemies
[of which] he had experience
control all his designs | hands of his enemy
as he had experience of
control all |
| 148. all his motion[s] | all his motion |
| 149. [Lambert] surprised
[saw] his enemy | Surprised
he [Lambert] found his enemy |
| 150. Oakes | Okey |
| 151. future counsels | future councils |
| 152. the most republican
thought [it] not fit or safe to re-
move [Lawson] | the most republican
thought not fit or safe to remove
him |
| 153. to the end of the war
in love with [monarchy] | till the end of the war
in love with that government [mon-
archy] |
| 154. of the first opportunity
which [it was] reasonably hoped | on the first opportunity
which were reasonably hoped |
| 155. provoked him to [the] engage-
ments [he had been in] | provoked him to those engagements |
| 156. the other person [admiral] | the other person |
| 157. the affections of the persons | the affections of that place from
whence, and of the persons |
| 158-161. | <i>Differently divided, 159 formerly
beginning in the middle of a sen-
tence.</i> |

*Edit. 1849.**Present Edit.*

158. Lambert's invasion [upon the parliament]

[159.] [This], together with
end to all [his doubts]

[160] 159. in his [majesty's] power

[161] 160. safe for them [then]
and therefore [it were best]
to acquiesce

161. [or uniformity] in the public exercise

162. and [he] had been always
consulted freely [touching] all
so loudly of [them]
danger of naming [the king]

163. made in all [counties]
[as to] leave

165. [he] had been obliged

168. and [that,] for the public satisfaction

169. effects of the animosities
which [they thought] would

171. and [had] their lands confiscated
as [their enemies] had
[Then] the complying
[had] sat as judges

172. declaration[s]

174. detestation [of]

179. As soon as [his majesty] came
was [about] the midway

180. and the [other letters with the]
Declaration

187. to make [the] king and people

189. solicitous to redeem [it]

191. [have] been such

198. than that you are again

200. And we do earnestly desire
into your and their hearts

201. revolutions of late happened

202. without effusion of blood

203. of those our condescensions
in that particular

204. The [two] gentlemen

206. were signed by all the considerable
persons

Lambert's invasion

which, together with
end to all the rest

in his power

safe for them

and therefore to acquiesce

and in the public exercise

and had been always
consulted freely all
so loudly of it
danger of naming him

made in all countries
that they might leave

had been obliged

and, for the public satisfaction

effects of the several animosities
which would

and their lands confiscated
as they [their enemies] had
[and] the complying
sat as judges

declaration

detestation

And as soon as he came
was the midway

and the Declaration

to make King and people
solicitous to redeem

hath been such

than that we hear you are again

And we do very earnestly desire
in your and their hearts

revolutions which of late have hap-
pened

without further effusion of blood
of these our condescensions
in particular

The gentlemen

were signed in [that, MS. 'the']
name, and signed by all the con-
siderable persons

Edit. 1849.

207. was [allotted] to every man
who were of that [province]
out of their lands
208. wished [for] a safe opportunity to
do him [his majesty] service
209. [He] sent over
the state [in Ireland]
210. most men [about the court]
211. [he] pressed the acceptation
the designs [it was laid for]
213. and [probably] had malice
214. the house [of commons] was pos-
sessed of
but [made] haste
were [likewise] transported
he [the general] managed
215. conditions of security [agreed on]
[they] said they had proceeded
216. of [the] 14th
217. [it] having been only
218. rather trust[ing] to your people
219. [and] the true protestant
[would] restore your majesty
222. unanimously proclaim
most humbly and faithfully do
223. [Even] before the general
224. desired that he [the king]
225. all the while [before]
230. the same invitation by [that
lord]
231. invited by [the ministers of these]
two great kings
[had been] suffered to pass
232. who made demonstrations
all this [was] before
234. and [providing] for the accommo-
dation
235. [in the beginning of] May
236. provided for his [entertainment]
at the States' charge
240. had [had] too great a hand
241. [they] having very rarely
242. They [entreated] to be admitted
243. said [that] he had heard

Present Edit.

- was assigned to every man
who were of that place
out of their land
- wished a safe opportunity to do him
service
- and sent over
the State
- most men
- pressed the acceptation
the designs
- and had malice
- the House was possessed of
- but make haste
were transported
he managed
- conditions of security
and said they had proceeded
- of 14th
having been only
- rather trust to your people
the true Protestant
- restore your majesty
unanimously [acknowledge and] pro-
claim
- do most humbly and faithfully
Before the general
- desired that he
all the while
- the same invitation by him
- invited by two great kings
- suffered to pass
who made the first demonstrations
- all this before
and taking care for the accommoda-
tion
- upon [Friday] the [fourteenth] day
of May
- provided for his reception
at the State's charge
- had too great a hand
and having very rarely
- They desired to be admitted
said he had heard

Edit. 1849.

244. and [had never discontinued it]
[he] told them plainly
245. That day he [his majesty]
246. the concourse [was] so great
giving loud thanks [to God]
247. all those wounds

Present Edit.

- and would never discontinue it
and [he] told them plainly
That day he
the concourse so great
giving loud thanks
all these wounds
-

APPENDIX.

[See Preface.]

BOOK I.

1. The alteration of the first line from its original form, 'If for no other reason, yet lest,' (which is noticed by Ranke, *History of England*, Oxford translation, vol. vi, p. 8), is shown in the facsimile, which forms the frontispiece to this volume.

158. The words respecting lord Littleton, 'been too much a solicitor—cause to defend,' are substituted for the following: 'been the most barefaced bawd for the prostitution of his brethren that any age hath brought up in that robe.'

166, note, 1. 'and at that time thought': *orig.*, 'and I believe.'

BOOK II.

88. After the words 'earl of Northumberland, the general,' the following passage is struck out, and the remainder of the section is substituted in the margin—'and no less by an equal sickness of the earl of Strafford, who by that means was kept in London, and so the army in Ireland wanting his presence and authority, though nothing was left unperformed by the earl of Ormonde that could possibly be expected. If the earl of Northumberland's absence had been as well supplied here, the motion and growth of the enemy had been better marked and prevented. Upon the first sickness of the general, the lord Conway (as a man equal to the greatest design) was sent with all the horse towards Barwick, a good body of foot (which was likewise subject to his command) being sent to Newcastle. The first intelligence that came from him was an assurance of being well provided to attack the enemy if he should advance, and after that, frequent undertaking, upon sure intelligence, that the Scots could not be in a condition to advance that year, which is probable made the posture of those parts less considered. The continuance of the earl of Northumberland's sickness at London, and of the unactivity of the lord Conway in

the north, forced the King to enter upon a new consideration of putting some person of command in the head of his army; and thereupon the earl of Strafford, who was not yet freed from his sickness, nor long after from the dregs of it, was constituted by commission from the earl of Northumberland lieutenant-general of the whole forces (for I do not believe that employment was originally intended to him, but only the command of the army in Ireland, to which two thousand foot and five hundred horse were to be added out of England); but before he could arrive with the army, that infamous irreparable rout' [&c. *as in* § 89.]

95. The words 'was never known' are substituted by a secretary's hand for 'I have never been informed.'

98. After the words 'countenance of that whole party,' the words 'for which I could never find the least prudential motive' are struck out.

108. This section originally began thus:—'These commissioners being met at Rippon by men of an inferior quality, (for as, I remember, there was only the lord Lowden of the nobility) Mr. Henderson and some of the clergy and a citizen or two being part, a treaty was with great formality entered into, and after some few days, in which a cessation was made, and five and thirty (*altered to fifty*) thousand pounds a month agreed upon to be paid to the Scots for the support of their army in the quarters wherein they then were, the treaty was adjourned to London, and a safe conduct granted to the Scotch commissioners to repair thither, without which they could never have been able to have gone through their great work. This being done, and as much more agreed upon as was necessary till their next meeting, the lords return to York, and his majesty towards London, all preparations being for the Parliament, which was to commence so speedily.'

119. 'And it is very probable': *orig.*, 'And I am persuaded.' 'I say it is probable': *orig.*, 'I say I am persuaded.'

123. 'insomuch as many': *orig.*, 'insomuch as I myself spake with many.' 'then did (or ever after)': *orig.*, 'then did (and I verily believe yet do not).'

125. 'nor was there—gracious acceptance': *orig.*, 'for I yet never heard of any proposition made by them at the first or second treaty at Rippon which was not for the matter fully consented to: whereas if their lordships had been fully advertised of the whole truth, of the ground and motives of sending that book, and of the care and circumspection in the forming and commending it to them; that the canons were but the injunctions and articles (that is, faithfully for the matter taken out of them) of their own Assembly's; that the High Commission was settled by Act of

Parliament; that all their petitions and addresses had found most gracious acceptance —.'

127. The following lines are struck out after the words, 'name of their nation,' the second book having originally ended here. '—there needs no observation how prejudicial this last oversight proved in many particulars. And this shall suffice for the introduction to this History, which is to begin from the beginning of the Parliament which was now at hand.'

BOOK III.

20. After the words 'whom they were to protect' the following lines are struck out:—'and else, though they made great show, and had great use of that appearance, of great fury against the Papist[s], they did intend really to do no public act of disfavour to them (as from that time to this the chief agents of them kept strict correspondence with some priests about London,) and so would not pursue the enquiry too strictly what had been done in their behalf; or it may be, they thought it more suitable to their dignity to proceed rigorously upon misdemeanours which were not before too well understood, and by rules of their own making, than upon known crimes, and by ordinary courses, in which other men might be as wise as themselves.'

47. 'The damage was not to be expressed, and the ruin': *orig.*, 'The damage, (that is too light a word) the ruin.'

104. 'amongst them the lord Littleton': *orig.*, 'amongst others one who is since dead.'

107. 'extrajudicial determination': *orig.*, 'extraordinary determination.'

225. 'a free communication': *orig.*, 'an idle and extravagant communication.'

BOOK IV.

130. After the words 'brought upon them,' the following lines are struck out:—'And eleven of them (relying upon his great judgment and experience in the course and forms of Parliament) signed a parchment he sent to them, which he delivered on Thursday the thirtieth of December to the King as a protestation of the bishops against the freedom of the Parliament; the proceedings upon it being so extraordinary, and the Church receiving so great a blow by an act that posterity, without well weighing all circumstances and humours, will hardly censure, it will not be amiss to set down the instrument itself in terms, which was this.' [Then follows the protest.]

141. The following section is struck out, for the substitution of the parallel passage from the *Life*.

'The King no sooner received this protestation from the hands of the archbishop at Whitehall than (conceiving he had very well considered of the consequence of it) he delivered it to a lord presently, to be presented and entered into the House; which was no sooner done than those lords who were the most mortal and implacable enemies expressed great joy, and said 'this was *digitus Dei*,' and that God had brought that about by the bishops themselves which all their skill could not compass; and immediately they sent to the Commons for a conference upon a matter of very great concernment and importance to the peace of the kingdom, at which conference they only read the instrument, said it was that morning presented to the King, and by his majesty sent to the House, and so delivered it to the Commons to be considered of, without delivering any opinion at all, which they knew they needed not to do. It was no sooner read in the House of Commons than several speeches were made of their transcendent presumption, which they could never have been guilty of except they had been sure of good seconds; that without doubt there was a design to dissolve the Parliament, of which this protestation against the freedom of it, and that all acts done in their absence were null, as if the bishops were so essential a part of a Parliament that it could not consist without them, was but a forerunner; that the dissolution of this Parliament would inevitably prove the destruction of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and therefore they resolved to accuse them of high treason. Which was done accordingly the same day, and thereupon the twelve bishops sent for to the House of Peers, and presently committed to the Tower of London, the tumults having left the Houses that morning, as soon as they heard of the more powerful engine to compass their ends, the protestation.'

144. 'that they were committed to prison than that they durst not then sit in the House': *orig.*, 'that they cannot sit in that House now than that they durst not then.'

145. 'insomuch as in the whole debate in the House of Commons': *orig.*, 'insomuch as in the four hours' debate in the House of Commons which would prove the most infallible way of destroying them

In 237, 238, and 239 the lines relating to the Tower of London are struck out.

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¹ The name is always written *Cromwell* by Clarendon.

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Clarendon Press, Oxford.

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